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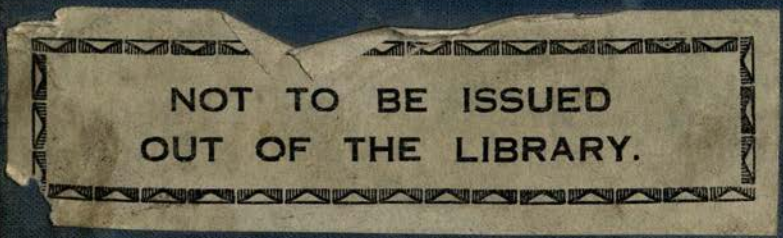
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ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION;

OR,

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF

Its Principal Events;

WITH A VARIETY OF

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

BY

A. F. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,

MINISTER OF STATE.

36870

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TRANSLATED

BY R. C. DALLAS, Esq.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE AUTHOR, WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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MIRABEAU, at the time of his death, had riſen to a degree of conſideration and

popularity which his rivals and antagoniſts could not injure, nor yet attain for themſelves. He had already made numerous conqueſts in the *Coté-Droit*, without loſing much in the *Coté-Gauche*. A member of the Department, Commander of a battalion of the National Guard, and powerfully aided out of the funds of the Civil Liſt, he united all the means of influence and of credit which he needed, to combat, with immenſe advantage, the Factious, whom he wiſhed to overturn; and he was going to begin his attack, when he was himſelf ſeized with the diſorder which carried him to his grave. His death at this period was the moſt fatal event for the King. All the hopes his Majeſty had grounded on the execution of *Mirabeau's* plan, died with him. There was no man left in any party fit to conduct ſuch an enterpriſe with the leaſt probability of ſucceſs. It was therefore neceſſary to renounce it, and to think of other means of ſafety.

The King's reſidence in the Capital became daily more hateful to him, on account of the ſcandalous and violent ſcenes which paſſed before his eyes, and which he had no power to repreſs. The execution of the

civil conſtitution of the Clergy was the pretext for them. The populace, who had aſſumed the ſupreme executive power, in that buſineſs, exerciſed it with as much indecency as brutality. The faithful prieſts, now deſcribed by the term *refractory*, were every where purſued and inſulted. Mobs, carrying rods, forced open the doors of the convents in ſervice time, and with a ferocious pleaſure whipped, not only the nuns but alſo all the women who went to thoſe chapels from the pious deſire of uniting their prayers with thoſe of a prieſt who had not taken the new oath.

M. de Leſſart, the Miniſter of the Interior, wrote a very energetic letter on this occaſion to the Directory of the Department. "If this licentiouſneſs," ſaid he, "be not "repreſſed; if at every event, at every cir"cumſtance; if in the Capital, under the "eyes of the King and of the National "Aſſembly, ſuch exceſſes are to be repeat"ed, there will in fact be neither liberty "nor ſecurity, and the Conſtitution will "never be eſtabliſhed. It is, therefore, in "the name of the Conſtitution itſelf, in "the name of order, and for the honour of "the Government, that the King enjoins "you

" you to employ the prompteſt and the " ſureſt means to cauſe the authors of theſe " crimes to be proſecuted and puniſhed."

Inſtead of executing an order ſo reaſonable, the Directory of the Department, improving upon the civil Conſtitution of the Clergy, entered into a reſolution, by which they ordered, that only the pariſh churches ſhould be open to the public; that in each of them ſhould be a lay-overſeer, charged with the care and order of the church, veſtry, &c. &c. and whoſe particular duty it ſhould be to prevent any eccleſiaſtical functions from being exerciſed in the ſaid churches by any other than the public eccleſiaſtical functionaries paid by the Nation, appointed to each of the ſaid churches, and whoſe names ſhould be inſcribed upon a table, placed for that purpoſe at the door of the veſtry; or other prieſts provided with a licence from the Biſhop, examined and allowed by the Clergyman of the pariſh, and renewed every three months*. It was ordered

* This arrangement was not modified till the 7th of May following, when the Decree paſſed, which declares, that the not taking the oath preſcribed by the

dered by the ſame deciſion, that all the other churches and chapels in Paris ſhould be ſhut in twenty-four hours, except the chapels of the charity-houſes and priſons, colleges, ſeminaries, and convents of nuns, cloiſtered and not ſuppreſſed, which chapels ſhould be only for the private uſe of the ſaid houſes, without being in any caſe open to the public, and the duty of which ſhould be performed only by eccleſiaſtics, who ſhould obtain for the purpoſe a particular authority from the Biſhop of *Paris*, examined by the pariſh miniſter.

The Municipality, in their Proclamation, contented themſelves with forbidding all citizens from riotouſly aſſembling before the houſes and churches of religious communities, and from committing any exceſſes againſt any perſon whatſoever, threatening to denounce to the tribunals whoever ſhould be taken in a mob, or in the act of making a riot. But theſe menaces not being accompanied by any proceſs againſt ſuch as had al-

Decree of the 28th of March, ſhould not be objected againſt any eccleſiaſtic preſenting himſelf to ſay maſs in any parochial church, chapel of eaſe, or National private chapel.

ready

ready been guilty of thoſe crimes, the populace only laughed at them, and renewed thoſe atrocious ſcenes, the ſuffering which to go unpuniſhed, proved but too clearly that it was much leſs the liberty of divine worſhip than its deſtruction that was aimed at, through the annihilation of the Catholic worſhip.

The Aſſembly, occupied with the new organization of the miniſtry, and the barefaced denunciation of *Bonjour* the clerk, againſt *M. de Fleurieu*, the Miniſter of Marine, ſeemed to pay no attention to theſe anti-religious commotions. They accorded but too well with their views for them to order any proſecution tending to ſtop their courſe. They might beſides be afraid of expoſing the conduct of thoſe among their members who had been the principal inſtigators of theſe crimes, which were often directed againſt the King himſelf, in reſpect to his Chapel, an attempt being made to compel him to ſuffer the ſervice to be performed by Conſtitutional prieſts. This counſel, or rather this order, was given to him with a ſhameleſs inſolence, ſometimes by the journaliſts, ſometimes by the vociferators among the groups aſſembled under

the windows of the Palace. *M. de la Fayette*, at this period, meeting *M. de la Porte*, Intendant of the Civil Liſt, in the King's Cabinet, aſked him if his Majeſty was employed in the new arrangement of his Houſehold. "For," ſaid he, ſmiling, "the "King has about him only thoſe eccle- "ſiaſtics who are in our eyes ſchiſmatics. "Tell me," continued he in the ſame tone, "Does the King's conſcience lie in "the Department of the Council or in that "of the Civil Liſt? I aſk, becauſe the "news is, that he is about to change his "confeſſor*.

All theſe indignities only ſerved to confirm the King in his deſign of going to Montmedi, and his laſt letters to *M. de Bouillé* fixed the time for the end of April or beginning of May. *M. de Montmorin* not having been made acquainted with this plan, had thought of another, much more wiſely combined in all its parts, and which, without hazarding the dignity of the King, or the ſafety of his perſon, by the incon-

* *M. de la Porte's* letter to the King, dated the 19th of March 1791, found in the iron preſs, and reported in the third collection of thoſe papers, No. lxxxiv.

venience

venience and dangers of a clandeſtine flight, preſented a certain proſpect of the moſt gentle and advantageous Counter-Revolution that could reaſonably be deſired. The plan was this:

M. de Montmorin, who ſecretly kept up a daily correſpondence with the Count *de Mercy*, was to commiſſion him, on the part of the King, to invite the Emperor to form, as ſoon as poſſible, a feigned coalition with the Empire, Pruſſia, Ruſſia, Spain, and the Kings of Naples and Sardinia, to declare, but not make actual war againſt France.

This coalition once formed were to publiſh a manifeſto, the chief grounds of which, pointed out in the plan, ſhould be the maintenance of the rights of the Princes who had poſſeſſions in France, and the common intereſt of all the Powers, to ſtop a Revolution, the principles and manœuvres of which tended to nothing leſs than the ſubverſion of all the Governments of Europe.

At the preciſe period in which this manifeſto was to be publiſhed, the Emperor, the Kings of Pruſſia, Spain, and Sardinia, were each to put his army in motion, and order it to approach the frontiers of France, by ſhort

ſhort marches, under pretence of waiting the aſſembling the troops of the other Powers, but, in fact, to give the King time to prepare the different meaſures in the interior, which were to concur in the ſucceſs of the plan.

Theſe meaſures conſiſted eſſentially in neglecting nothing to augment the King's popularity, and to undermine that of all the Factious; to endeavour, by every poſſible means, to influence the Aſſembly and the Galleries, the Municipality and the Sections, the Jacobin Club and the National Guard, and to ſupport and carry the motions that circumſtances ſhould require. A ſum of two millions, diſtributed with judgment, would have been ſufficient to ſecure theſe points; for, except a very few fanatics, miſled by the Revolutionary rage to a degree of madneſs, there were hardly any of theſe pretended pure patriots, who were not to be bought at their full value, that is to ſay, at a very low price.

The declaration of ſo formidable a preparation for war, at a moment when the French army, deprived by emigration of its beſt officers, was entirely diſorganized, muſt naturally excite a general ſentiment of diſcontent

tent and terror, which it would be eaſy to turn entirely againſt the Aſſembly. The King alone, exempt from all reproach, worthy of all confidence, might, by means of negotiation, avert the ſcourge of war with which France ſhould ſeem threatened, or at leaſt place the country in a ſituation to repulſe the enemy; and this he might effect by going in perſon to re-eſtabliſh ſubordination in the army, there calling upon all the Emigrant Officers to return to him. This wiſh was to be addreſſed to his Majeſty, not only by a great many Departments, by the Journaliſts, the Clubs, the groups of the *Palais-Royal*, but alſo by the Army itſelf; and their petition being ſupported in the Aſſembly by all the members of the *Coté-Droit*, by a conſiderable party of the *Coté-Gauche*, and by the galleries, could not fail of being favourably received and granted. The King might then have ſet out without any obſtacle for Metz or Valenciennes, according to the poſition of the hoſtile armies. On his arrival, his Majeſty was to have publiſhed a proclamation, enjoining all the Emigrants immediately to return into the Kingdom, and commanding the Princes

Princes, Officers, and all Gentlemen, able to bear arms, perſonally to attend the King in the town to be appointed, in order to join with his Majeſty in the defence of the State, the whole, under pain of being deemed traitors to their King and Country, and of being proſecuted as ſuch. That theſe orders might be executed without delay, the Count *d'Artois* was to be informed of the King's plan before-hand, by a confidential perſon, to be fixed upon by *M. de Montmorin.*

After theſe firſt operations, a new Council was to be formed, and compoſed of Miniſters choſen among perſons moſt diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge, energy, and monarchical principles. The King, attended by the Marquis *de Bouillé*, was to review his army, ſhew himſelf every day to the ſoldiers, and inſpire their former loyalty, by often ſpeaking to them kindly and confidently. At the ſame time, his Majeſty was to negotiate with the Emperor, obtain an armiſtice, ſummon the Aſſembly to Metz or Valenciennes, to conſult with them upon the demands of the Powers, and concert the conditions of peace.

The

The Queen remaining at Paris, was to render herſelf popular by letters to the Emperor and to the King of Naples, in order to ſeparate them from the coalition, and they were to be written in a manner to produce the moſt beneficial effect. *M. de Montmorin* was alſo to remain at Paris, to treat with the principal members of the Aſſembly, to preſerve the means of influence, and to direct them as occaſion might require.

It was not to be preſumed that the Aſſembly, when ſummoned by the King, would refuſe to attend his perſon; the populace, in that caſe, would have compelled them to go; and thouſands of addreſſes would have poured in from all parts to demand their diſſolution. Previous to their arrival, or to their being ſuperſeded by new Deputies, appointed in the ſame manner as the former ones, that is to ſay, by the Bailiwick Aſſemblies, which the King might have convoked for that purpoſe, in compliance with the numerous petitions that might have been obtained from all the Provinces, his Majeſty's Council, and that of the Emperor, might have concerted the conditions upon which the Powers were to inſiſt.

Theſe

Theſe conditions, amongſt which was to be the diſarming and diſbanding of the National Guard, were to be of ſuch a nature that the King could not ſubſcribe to them without the conſent of the Aſſembly, nor the Aſſembly without conſulting the wiſhes of their Conſtituents, that is to ſay, the Bailiwick Aſſemblies; the convocation of which, loudly demanded by the people, by the army, and by innumerable petitions, would become inevitable.

Theſe Aſſemblies, contrived to be convoked on the ſame day throughout the Kingdom, were to be conſulted not only reſpecting the demands of the different Powers, but reſpecting the plan of a declaration drawn up according to the deſires contained in the majority of the inſtructions to the Deputies, and which was no more than a ſummary of the ancient Monarchical Government, cleared from all its abuſes, and improved on principles the moſt prudent and the moſt proper to ſecure the ſtability of the French Conſtitution.

This declaration, fulfilling all wiſhes and realizing all hopes, except thoſe of the factious and brigands, could not fail to be every where

where received with the moſt unanimous tranſports of joy. The Bailiwick Aſſemblies were to direct their Repreſentatives to preſent the King with the homage of the general gratitude; and vote immediately the taxes neceſſary for the wants of the State, according to his Majeſty's deſire.

Thus would there have been an end to the Aſſembly, the Revolution, civil commotions, and war with the Powers of Europe. The King, after having ſettled the conditions of peace with them, was to ſet off for the Capital; there would he arrive in the midſt of univerſal acclamations of joy, love, and happineſs, and find, at laſt, *his good city of Paris*, thoſe good Frenchmen of old times, that good People who idolized their Kings.

The King was at firſt charmed with this plan, and adopted it the more readily as he regarded it as the completion of that which he had already formed, and which he ſtill concealed from *M. de Montmorin*.

The chief difference between the two plans was, reſpecting the King's departure from Paris. His Majeſty in every reſpect preferred the meaſures propoſed by *M. de Montmorin*; but they might not ſucceed: in

in which caſe thoſe, the execution of which was confided to *M. de Bouillé*, might be attempted with more ſucceſs. It was doubtleſs from this motive that the King did not entirely relinquiſh his plan of departure for Montmedi, and only informed *M. de Bouillé* that the execution of it was delayed; but that he ſhould have timely notice of the day on which it ſhould take place.

M. de Montmorin was authoriſed then to commiſſion the Count *de Mercy*, on the part of the King, to preſs the Emperor to enter upon the negotiation I have mentioned with the other Powers, and to accelerate their coalition as much as poſſible; promiſing that the extraordinary expences attending it ſhould be reimburſed by the King.

Although *M. de Montmorin* had given but a general idea of the plan in his firſt letter to *M. de Mercy*, he ſaid enough to convince him of the happy effects which might be hoped from it, and in conſequence the Emperor immediately ſent the moſt ſatisfactory anſwer. He ſaid that he would without delay enter upon the negotiation propoſed to him, and in fact he did not loſe a moment.

It only remained to ſend intelligence to the Princes of what was paſſing, that they might have time to prepare the Emigrants to obey the King's proclamation as ſoon as it ſhould be publiſhed. A meſſage of ſo delicate a nature could only be delivered verbally; and none but a very intelligent man, whoſe zeal and fidelity could ſtand every teſt, could be truſted with it. *M. de Montmorin* fixed upon the Baron *de Gilliers*, a brave man, moſt ſincerely devoted to the Royal Family, and whom *Madame Elizabeth* particularly honoured with her confidence. The King approved the choice, and authoriſed *M. de Montmorin* to inform the Baron *de Gilliers* of all the particulars of the plan in queſtion, that he might give an accurate ſtatement of it to the Count *d'Artois*.

M. de Montmorin had ſeveral conferences on the ſubject with the Baron *de Gilliers* during Paſſion Week, (from the 10th to the 17th of April), and told him to prepare for his departure, as he might every moment expect an order for that purpoſe.

At this period too the doubts of a timorous and religious conſcience increaſed the embaraſſments inſeparable from the critical ſituation of the King. He was more anxious

than ever to perform his Eaſter devotions; but he conſidered himſelf as having been guilty of a criminal weakneſs in aſſenting to the civil conſtitution of the Clergy. He thought himſelf in ſome degree anſwerable for the numberleſs ſcandals and iniquities reſulting from it. He was firmly reſolved to make reparation as ſoon as it was in his power; but he feared that this reſolution was not ſufficient to render him worthy of fulfilling the Paſchal duty. He ſubmitted with candour all his ſcruples in this reſpect to the Biſhop of *Clermont*, in a letter too edifying to be ſuppreſſed.

"I addreſs you, reverend Father, with "confidence as one of the Clergy who has "conſtantly ſhown the moſt enlightened "zeal for Religion. It is to conſult you "reſpecting the Eaſter devotions: can I, "and ought I to perform them? You are "acquainted with the wretched ſituation in "which I am, on account of aſſenting to the "decrees reſpecting the Clergy. I have "always regarded it as a forced act, having "never heſitated, as far as it reſpects my-"ſelf, to remain always united to the Catho-"lic paſtors, and being firmly reſolved,

" ſhould I ever recover my power, fully to
" re-eſtabliſh the Catholic worſhip. I have
" ſeen a prieſt, who thinks that theſe ſenti-
" ments may ſuffice, and that I may per-
" form my Eaſter devotions; but it is more
" your province to ſay what the Church in
" general thinks of it, and to appreciate
" the circumſtances in which we are placed.
" If on the one hand it would not give of-
" fence to ſome, on the other I ſee the in-
" novators (though indeed that ſhould bear
" no weight in the ſcale) already daring to
" ſpeak in threatening language. I requeſt
" you to adviſe on the ſubject with ſuch
" of the Biſhops as you may think proper,
" and on whoſe diſcretion you can depend.
" I deſire alſo to have your anſwer before
" twelve to-morrow; and return my letter.
(Signed) LOUIS."

" *April* 15, 1791."

The firm and pious anſwer which the Biſhop of *Clermont* ſent to the King, is not leſs worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity; it was as follows:

" SIRE,
" If ever I wiſhed for underſtanding and

" wiſdom from above, I muſt, on an occa-
" ſion in which your Majeſty orders me to
" acquaint you with my ſentiments on a
" ſubject as delicate as intereſting.

" I will begin by expreſſing to your
" Majeſty, how greatly I am flattered by
" the confidence which you have deigned to
" repoſe in me; but at the ſame time that I
" feel all the honour and all the value of it, I
" cannot but be embarraſſed from the tho-
" rough conviction of my inſufficiency to
" decide ſo important a queſtion as that
" which you have called upon me to anſwer.
" To ſupply my own deficiency, Sire, I have
" taken advantage of the liberty you have
" granted me to conſult two of my brethren,
" whoſe diſcretion and underſtanding appear
" to me undoubted; and it is this which
" has prevented my anſwering your Ma-
" jeſty before noon. I dare hope that you
" will excuſe this unavoidable delay, as
" your letter was not delivered to me till
" nine o'clock in the morning.

" Your Majeſty does me the honour to
" aſk me, if I think you can and ought to
" perform your Eaſter devotions under the
" unfortunate circumſtances of your ſitua-
" tion. I take the liberty of repreſenting

" to

" to your Majeſty, that the ſubject ought to
" be conſidered in two points of view; firſt
" in itſelf, and then as it reſpects public
" edification. In the firſt point of view,
" my extreme deſire to ſee your Majeſty
" participate the Holy Communion at a
" moment when you have the greateſt need
" of this reſource, and to receive the God of
" all conſolation when you are aſſailed with
" doubt and ſorrow, prompts me to adopt
" the ſentiment of the prieſt whom you
" have conſulted, and of whoſe underſtand-
" ing and fidelity to the Church there can
" be no doubt. A ſincere regret for the
" paſt, a firm reſolution for the future, are
" neceſſary in order to receive abſolution,
" and to enable us to approach the Holy
" Table. But theſe diſpoſitions muſt be
" manifeſt after having given occaſion of
" offence; and I may be bold enough to ſay
" to your Majeſty, that the acceptance or
" the ſanction given to various decrees, par-
" ticularly thoſe which in the conſtitution
" of the Clergy have reſpect to ſpiritual ob-
" jects, as thoſe of the 27th of November,
" have been attended with conſequences the
" moſt woful to the Church, and the moſt
" diſaſtrous to Religion. I know that your

"Majeſty deplores them; and you expreſs "yourſelf in your letter with the moſt re- "ligious and edifying energy. I am con- "vinced that conſiderations, which have "appeared to you grounded on wiſdom, and "the love of peace, extorted from your hand "what your heart diſavowed. I am alſo fully "perſuaded, that you thought you might yield "to compulſion; but, Sire, when the queſ- "tion is reſpecting Religion and the law of "God, your Majeſty muſt be ſenſible that "it was only by reſiſtance to force that "there were martyrs, and that the ſpilling "of their blood to cement the work of our "redemption, has been the moſt powerful "means of tranſmitting to us this precious "gift of heaven. I ſee powerful motives, "and I find them in your heart, for adopt- "ing the courſe favourable to your deſires, "which the prieſt whom you conſulted "thought might be adopted; but, Sire, as "it reſpects public edification, I am really "alarmed; and I take the liberty of ſtating "to your Majeſty, that as you cannot "without incalculable inconvenience either "repair the evil which the acceptation and "ſanctions have occaſioned, or manifeſt the "intention in time for the ſeaſon in which

"you

" you wiſh to ſatisfy on this head the reli-
" gious ſentiment which preſſes upon your
" mind, it appears that the performing of
" the Paſchal duty, under ſuch circum-
" ſtances, would infallibly produce moſt
" lamentable effects. All your ſubjects
" know that your Majeſty has conſented
" to the law ſubverſive of their religion, but
" few will allow for the ſituation in which
" you are, or for the invincible obſtacles
" which your Majeſty has to encounter in
" the reparation you would make; and I
" clearly ſee thoſe who are invariably at-
" tached to their principles would be con-
" founded, the weak drawn into error by ſo
" high an example, and the enemies of Re-
" ligion confirmed in their triumph.

" Sire, upon theſe conſiderations I am
" bound to declare to your Majeſty, that it
" appears to me to be the moſt prudent to
" ſuſpend the Paſchal communion. It is
" certain, that in this conduct there is no-
" thing contrary to the principles of Reli-
" gion: the ſpiritual authority, whether by
" confeſſors or in any other manner, con-
" ſtantly permits theſe delays, which are law-
" ful in many circumſtances, and motives of

" much leſs weight than thoſe by which your " Majeſty would be determined, are ſuffi- " cient. Sire, it appears to me important " to foreſee and prevent, even in a political " view, what might happen if your Ma- " jeſty ſhould hold yourſelf bound to per- " form your Paſchal duty in the Eaſter " week: theſe views are not foreign to Re- " ligion which is the life of peace, of tran- " quillity, and public order. It is impoſ- " ſible to conceal that they who dare at- " tempt to dictate your Majeſty's actions, " will think it of great conſequence to pre- " vail upon you to adopt the reſolution of " going to the pariſh church. That would " be a ſcandal: and if your Majeſty were " to take the Communion in your own " chapel, you would perhaps expoſe your- " ſelf to what you ſo prudently have at " heart to avoid; and I almoſt think that " the poſtponing of it becomes a duty.

" I am with the moſt profound
" reſpect, &c. &c.

Signed ✣ Biſhop of CLERMONT."

" *Paris, April* 16,
1791."

The

The King received this deciſion with as much reſpect and ſubmiſſion as if it had proceeded from the head of the Church, and his reſolution to obey it was rather ſtrengthened than ſhaken by the dangers to which it expoſed him. Alas! no perſon poſſeſſed more of that paſſive courage, that martyr-like reſignation than *Louis XVI.* Unfortunately it is not upon the Throne that theſe virtues, always eſtimable, are moſt neceſſary: they are even much oftener fatal than uſeful to a Prince who does not unite, like *St. Louis*, that greatneſs of ſoul, that energy of character, and that commanding firmneſs which enſure reſpect, inſpire fear, and enforce obedience. Doubtleſs Kings ſhould make themſelves beloved, but they ſhould alſo always take care to be feared. When they are told that they are the idols of their Nations, that they govern by love, &c. &c. they but hear an old flattering tale fit for a madrigal: truth, common ſenſe and experience tell them on the contrary, that it is only by fear that the people are governed; and that no King can be loved by the good who is not feared by the wicked.

At the approach of the Eaſter week, the Factious exerted every means to agitate the people,

people, and make them anxious that the King ſhould go to the pariſh church, and receive the Paſcal Communion, from the hands of a Conſtitutional clergyman. "If "he refuſes," ſaid they, "he perjures "himſelf; he violates the Conſtitution "which he has accepted; he betrays the "Nation; he puts himſelf at the head of "the conſpiracy of refractory prieſts, and "ſo forth: if he ſubmit to it (whiſpered "they) we will accuſe him of hypocriſy "and cowardice. Thus, do what he will, "he cannot but incur the cenſure of the "patriots, or the indignation and contempt "of all parties."

The King, aware of theſe manœuvres, and of the double ſnare laid for him, ſaw no other means of eſcaping it than that of paſſing a part of the Eaſter weeks at St. Cloud, with the Royal Family. This plan ſeemed likely to meet with the fewer obſtacles, as the King's health might be ſuppoſed to be the cauſe of it, the country air being proper for him after the diſorder from which his Majeſty was but juſt recovering; but the Factious were not to be ſo deceived. They immediately ſpread a report among the People and National Guard, that the

the King was going to St. Cloud only to avoid keeping his Eaſter at Paris; and that he had given up his uſual confeſſor, the Miniſter of *St. Euſtache*, becauſe he had taken the new oath. The fermentation excited by theſe rumours made ſo rapid a progreſs, that on Palm Sunday, a National Grenadier, upon Guard at the Palace, took upon him, at maſs time, and almoſt in the King's hearing, to make the moſt atrocious declamations upon his Majeſty's Chapel being ſerved by eccleſiaſtics who had not taken the oath, upon the danger of ſuch an example, and upon the puniſhment it deſerved, &c. &c. His comrades applauded him, and loudly repeated theſe imprecations at the door of the Chapel, in ſuch a manner, that the ſervice could not be begun for near half an hour; it was, however, performed at laſt, but with the dread of being interrupted every moment by ſome act of violence.

On the ſame day, and at the ſame hour, a large mob aſſembled at the door of the Theatins, and brutally turned away from it ſeveral worthy Catholics, to whom the Municipality had let that church, and who were going to attend the ſervice to be performed there, by prieſts who had not taken the oath.

Theſe

Theſe ſcandalous, fanatic, and impious ſcenes, determined the King to ſet out the next day for St Cloud.

M. de la Fayette, apprehenſive that his Majeſty's departure might occaſion ſome popular commotion, thought that to prevent it, he had only to increaſe the poſts of the National Guard at the Palace, and at the *Place du Caroufel*, and to ſtation them as far as the *Barriere de la Conference;* but this General was ſeldom fortunate in his precautions, and thoſe which he took on this occaſion, only ſerved to inſure ſucceſs to the crime he wiſhed to prevent; and even became the principal cauſe of it. Their Majeſties ſet out, or rather endeavoured to ſet out, on Monday, in the Holy week, at noon, but they had ſcarcely arrived at the *Place du Carouzel*, when their carriage was ſurrounded, and ſtopped by an immenſe crowd, conſiſting chiefly of ſoldiers belonging to the National Guard. The cries of—*Don't let him paſs! He ſhall not go!* were heard on all ſides. At the leaſt motion of the horſes, clamours ſtill more violent, broke forth; and more than once ſeveral muſkets were ſeen levelled at the carriage.

In the midſt of theſe tumults and vociferations,

ferations, the King, preſerving the greateſt ſerenity, ſent for *M. de la Fayette*, and aſked him if it was intended to diſpute his right of going to St. Cloud; and, deſired if it were poſſible, to remove the crowd that ſtopped his way. *M. de la Fayette* anſwered, that his Majeſty certainly was at liberty to go; that he would ſpeak to his ſoldiers, and only deſired a few moments to clear the way for his carriage. He did, in fact, all that he could do; but, his efforts only proved his want of power. He harangued, but his rhetoric was in vain; and he went through the ranks with as little ſucceſs, endeavouring to find ſome ſoldiers who might have the complaiſance to obey him. The feeble voice of this popular General was every where drowned by that of the Sovereign People, who in this inſurrection, which particularly related to Religion, truly thought that they were only performing *the moſt ſacred of duties.*

M. de la Fayette, no longer able to doubt the inefficacy of his credit and influence over the National Guard, went and informed the King of the diſpoſition of their minds, ſtill repeating to his Majeſty, that he was free;

free; and that, if he perſiſted in his intention of proceeding to St. Cloud, he would put himſelf at the head of the King's carriage, with ſome brave Officers, and at the peril of his life, enforce the execution of the law.

The King, no doubt recollecting, that on the 5th of October 1789, *M. de la Fayette* had alſo aſſured him that he might remain quiet, and that he would anſwer for every thing, did not think it prudent to truſt a ſecond time to ſuch aſſurances, and determined to return to the Palace, after having remained near an hour and a half in the ſame place in his carriage, from which he diſtinctly heard the menaces and ſeditious ſpeeches of this miſguided multitude. To ſave the honour of the Conſtitution, or at leaſt to gloſs over the manifeſt violation of it by open force, it was proclaimed upon the *Place du Carouzel*, that the *King, unwilling to augment the uneaſineſs which his departure might occaſion, had conſented not to uſe the right he had of proceeding to St. Cloud, and to defer going for ſome days.* All the revolutionary papers gave an account of this ſcandalous ſcene in the ſame terms,

terms, and the Directory of the Department haſtened to confirm the impoſture, by the indecent reſolution entered into on the ſame day, purporting, that the *Sections of the Capital ſhould be convoked by the Municipality, to determine the queſtion ariſing upon the following caſe:*

" The King intended to go this day to St. " Cloud. A great number of Citizens " fearing that the refractory might dare to " make an improper uſe of his name, to " give force to their Anti-Conſtitutional " manœuvres, went and requeſted him not " to leave town. The Mayor and Com- " mander in Chief, fearing that the King " might appear to be under conſtraint, de- " clared to him, that he ſhould never ceaſe " to be free; and that, if he ſtill choſe to " go to St. Cloud, every public means " ſhould be employed to prevent his meet- " ing any impediment.

" The King was apprehenſive of a diſ- " turbance; and, being unwilling to expoſe " either the People or the National Guard, " determined to ſtay. The Sections are re- " queſted to give their opinions upon the " following queſtion:—*Under theſe cir-*

" *cumſtances,*

" *cumſtances, ought the King to be en-*
" *treated to put his firſt intention into exe-*
" *cution, which was to go to St. Cloud?*
" *or, ought thanks to be returned to him*
" *for ſtaying, in order to preſerve the pub-*
" *lic tranquillity?* [*Reſolution of the*
" *Department, Monday, 18th of April*
" 1791."]

This polite, this affected alternative, merely employed to diſguiſe whatever was unconſtitutional in the queſtion, deceived no one. In fact, it was impoſſible not to underſtand very clearly, that it was aſking the Factious, whether it was their pleaſure to permit or prevent the King's going to St. Cloud.

The following day the Department went and communicated this reſolution to the Aſſembly, which they had the baſeneſs to approve. Scarce had the members of the Department retired than the Preſident announced to the Aſſembly, that the King was coming to the Hall. His Majeſty immediately entered at the ſame time, and ſpoke as follows*:

" GEN-

* This ſtep was urged by the Miniſters, and ſo importunately,

" GENTLEMEN,

" I am come among you with the confi-
" dence I have always teſtified to you. You
" are informed of the oppoſition given yeſ-
" terday to my departure for St. Cloud. I
" was not willing to overcome it by force,
" becauſe I feared to occaſion acts of ſe-
" verity againſt a deceived multitude, who
" thought they were protecting the laws,
" while they were infringing them; but it
" is of importance to the Nation to prove
" that I am free. Nothing is ſo eſſential
" to the authority of the ſanctions and accep-
" tations which I have given to your Decrees.
" Governed by this powerful motive, I
" perſiſt in my plan of going to St. Cloud,
" and the National Aſſembly muſt per-
" ceive the neceſſity of it. It ſeems, that
" in order to make a faithful people, and
" whoſe love I have deſerved, rebellious,
" doubts are raiſed in their minds reſpect-
" ing my Conſtitutional ſentiments. I have
" accepted, and ſworn to maintain that

ponderosity, that his Majeſty could not refuſe. He nevertheleſs ſhortened the ſpeech, the plan of which they had drawn up, and left out ſeveral phraſes which appeared to him to want dignity. See Appendix, No. XV.

" Conſtitution, of which the civil Conſti-
" tution of the Clergy forms a part, and I
" do maintain the execution of it with all
" my power. This is but repeating the
" ſentiments I have ſo often expreſſed be-
" fore the National Aſſembly. They know
" that my intentions and my wiſhes have
" no other object than the happineſs of my
" People, and that happineſs can only re-
" ſult from the execution of the laws, and
" obedience to all the Legitimate and Con-
" ſtitutional authorities."

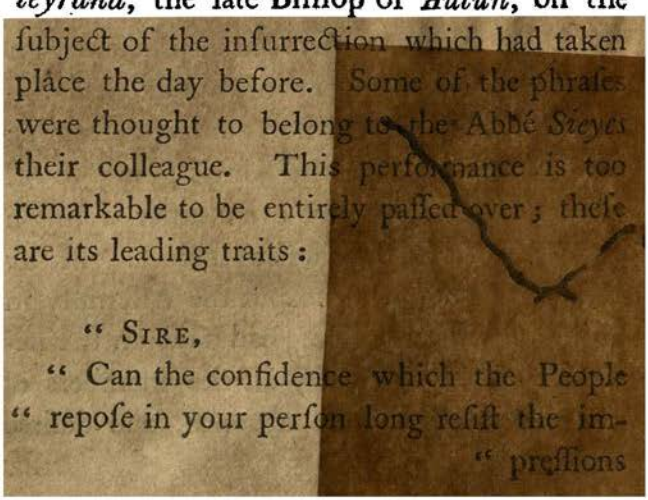
The Preſident, in his anſwer, mixed with the uſual expreſſions of attachment, gratitude, and ſo forth, ſome ſentences, which pointed out the pretended faction of refractory prieſts, as the principal cauſe of the troubles which afflicted the King. " Sire," ſaid he, " You, the People, Liberty, and
" the Conſtitution, have but one common
" intereſt. The baſe enemies of the Con-
" ſtitution and Liberty are alſo your ene-
" mies. All hearts are yours. As you
" wiſh the People's happineſs, the People
" wiſh for the happineſs of their King. Let
" us prevent a Faction, well known by
" their projects, their efforts, and plots,
" from

" from interfering between the Throne and " the Nation, and every wiſh will be accom- " pliſhed. All uneaſineſs and diſtruſt will " diſappear. Our common enemies will " once more be confounded, and you will " achieve a freſh victory for your Coun- " try."

His Majeſty had been often interrupted by ſhouts of *Vive le Roi!* and repeated applauſes, which were renewed on his leaving the Hall. The members of the *Coté-Droit*, far from joining in the homage paid to the King, were obſerved to keep a profound ſilence—it was the ſilence of conſternation. A Deputation was named to go and thank the King for the ſtep he had juſt taken, and to requeſt a copy of his ſpeech, which it was decreed ſhould be printed and ſent to the Departments, to ſerve as a proclamation for the re-eſtabliſhment of public peace.—But the Aſſembly did not dare to determine any thing reſpecting the King's going to St. Cloud. They did not even ſuffer a ſingle motion to be made on the ſubject. *M. de Blacons*, attempting to put the Aſſembly in mind of what the King had ſaid on the neceſſity of this journey, all the members of the *Coté-Gauche* roſe at once, and deſired

that he might be ſent to the Abbaye. *M. de Cazalés* and ſome other members of the *Coté-Droit* endeavoured to ſpeak, but the order of the day, and the breaking up of the Sitting were ſo loudly called for, that the Preſident (*Chabroud*) put it to the vote, and the motion of adjournment was carried. The Department had ſubmitted the queſtion reſpecting the King's going to St. Cloud, to all the Sections of the Capital, and the Aſſembly had already loſt too much of its popularity to dare to diſpute the power of the Sections, or anticipate their deciſion.

Before the King went to the Sitting, his Majeſty received from the Department of Paris, an addreſs drawn up by *M. Paſtoret*, *Procureur-General-Syndic*, and *M. de Talleyrand*, the late Biſhop of *Autun*, on the ſubject of the inſurrection which had taken place the day before. Some of the phraſes were thought to belong to the Abbé *Sieyes* their colleague. This performance is too remarkable to be entirely paſſed over; theſe are its leading traits:



" SIRE,

" Can the confidence which the People " repoſe in your perſon long reſiſt the im-

" preſſions

" preſſions which men, eager to enjoy Li-
" berty, receive from thoſe who are about
" you? The enemies of Liberty, alarmed
" at your patriotiſm, have determined *to*
" *aſſail your conſcience.* Concealing their
" humbled pride under the veil of holineſs,
" they ſhed hypocritical tears over Religion.
" Such, Sire, are the men by whom you are
" ſurrounded. It is with pain remarked,
" that you favour the refractory; that you
" are ſerved almoſt entirely by the enemies
" of the Conſtitution; and it is feared that
" theſe preferences, which are but too ma-
" nifeſt, indicate the real inclination of
" your heart. Sire, act freely, and remove
" the enemies of the Conſtitution from about
" you. Announce to foreign Nations that
" a glorious Revolution has taken place in
" France; that you have adopted it, and
" that you are now the King of a free
" People; for this purpoſe, chooſe Miniſ-
" ters of a new kind, and ſuch as are not
" unworthy of ſo auguſt an office; and let
" the Nation learn that their King has placed
" about his perſon the firmeſt ſupporters of
" Liberty, for at preſent they only are the
" King's real and uſeful friends."

The National Aſſembly themſelves, at the time they enjoyed the greateſt popularity, never preſented to the King more inſolent complaints, or more imperious advice. The ſtyle of this addreſs gives an exact idea of the degree of power which the Directory of the Department of Paris had already acquired through the audacity and ability of their principal members; and we may judge of the advantages which *Mirabeau*, the boldeſt and ableſt of them all, might have drawn from it for the execution of his plan, if death had allowed him time.

The ſame complaints, the ſame counſels, were repeated to the King, in an addreſs preſented to him by the Municipality; and on the ſame day the Directory of the Department of the Seine and Oiſe (Verſailles) reſolved to petition the Aſſembly to decree, Conſtitutionally, that *every ſervant and domeſtic of the King, Queen, or preſumptive heir to the Throne, of whatever nature his ſervice might be, ſhould be bound to take the oath of maintaining the Conſtitution of the Kingdom to the beſt of his power, and ſuch as were eccleſiaſtics, to maintain moreover the civil Conſtitution of the Clergy.*

On the following day, *M. de la Fayette*, humbled, and juſtly, by the ſilly and ridiculous part which the obſtinate diſobedience of the whole of the National Guard had made him play on the 18th, ſent his reſignation of the poſt of Commander-in-Chief and that of the whole Staff, to the Municipality. This unexpected ſtep ſet the whole town in an uproar, and all the battalions in motion. Almoſt all of them went to his houſe in the evening, to aſſure him of their repentance and attachment, and moſt earneſtly entreated him to withdraw his reſignation. *M. de la Fayette*, being overwhelmed in ſilent ſadneſs, and anſwering them only with ſighs, or unmeaning monoſyllables, ſeveral of them, attended with flambeaux, went to the Municipality to beg them to go and ſecond their ſolicitation. They arrived at eleven o'clock at night, with *M. Bailly* at their head, at the General's houſe, and were ſhut up with him in his Cabinet about an hour, without being able to obtain an anſwer.

In the midſt of this confuſion and agitation, the fermentation againſt the faithful prieſts became more and more violent, and alarmed the King extremely. It was particularly againſt thoſe that belonged to his

Chapel that the pamphlets and Revolutionary Journals endeavoured to direct the fury of the People. His Majeſty had flattered himſelf to protect them by going to St. Cloud, but he now gave up all hopes of being ſuffered to leave Paris. It was at this moment of embarraſſment, wretchedneſs, and deſpair, that the *Lameth party* made an offer of their counſels and ſervices to the King. This party was then the ſtrongeſt in the Aſſembly, and that which the King held moſt in horror. His Majeſty, however, perceiving that nothing contrary to his religious principles was required from him in their propoſals, determined to accept them, and in conſequence, cauſed the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, to write to all the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of France, in the different Courts of Europe, that famous circular letter, in which the King, through his Miniſter, proclaimed himſelf perfectly free, at a moment when no one could doubt his being in a ſtate of ſlavery, and made the moſt pompous eulogium upon the Conſtitution which dethroned him*. The Depart-

* See the letter from *M. de Montmorin* to the Ambaſſadors. Appendix, No. xvi.

ment

ment, and the Municipality, having, in their reſpective addreſſes, adviſed the King to take the ſame ſtep, he did not doubt, but that they had entered into a moſt formidable coalition with the *Lameth party*, who had drawn up the letter in queſtion; and this opinion, which was but too probable, got the better of his Majeſty's extreme repugnance to profeſs ſentiments not his own, and to appear to put confidence in people in whom he had none.

M. de Montmorin could not approve a determination ſo oppoſite to the plan which he had prevailed upon the King to adopt, and for the execution of which he kept up a conſtant correſpondence with *M. de Mercy* and *M. de Florida Blanca*, the Spaniſh Miniſter. He remonſtrated very ſtrongly, on this occaſion, to his Majeſty. "The ſtep "propoſed to you," ſaid he, "not only com- "mits the dignity of your character, but "endangers the ſucceſs of the important "negotiation in which the Emperor is at "this moment employed by your deſire to "re-eſtabliſh the Monarchy, and to reſtore "you to your Crown and liberty. Can your "Majeſty be deceived as to the conſe- "quences of the letter which you order me

"to

" to write? No doubt it will purchaſe for " you great applauſes from the Aſſembly " and the Galleries—cries of *Vive le Roi!* " nay, perhaps a TE DEUM and illumina- " tions. How often has your Majeſty al- " ready found that this popular enthuſiaſm " vaniſhes in as little time as it requires to " excite it; and that if advantage be not " immediately taken of it, the next day is " too late. I muſt alſo obſerve, that if I " ſign ſuch a letter, it will brand me with " ſuch ignominy in all the Courts of Europe, " that my ſervices will become more preju- " dicial than uſeful to your Majeſty's in- " tereſts."—" The moſt urgent conſidera- " tion," replied the King, " is to avert " the dangers of the moment, to prevent " the maſſacre of our good prieſts, and I ſee " no other means. All Europe muſt know " under what circumſtances this letter was " written. The Powers will not be deceived " by it; they will clearly ſee, that it comes " neither from you nor me, and that it is " an act of compulſion. You may even " appriſe *M. de Mercy* of it *." *M. de*

* This converſation took place on Wedneſday in the Holy Week, the 20th of April.

Mont-

Montmorin, without making any anſwer to his Majeſty, received the letter from his hands, and went home to reflect upon it.—In conſidering it with profound attention, new arguments preſented themſelves to him, which he thought more deciſive than thoſe he had already urged to the King. Of theſe he compoſed a letter, which he ſent the following day to his Majeſty, and which concluded in the following manner:

" Should your Majeſty, notwithſtanding " what I have now ſaid, perſiſt in the de- " termination you communicated to me, I " here add the reſignation of my office, that " your Majeſty may order the letter which " I have the honour to return to you, to be " ſigned by ſome other Miniſter for Fo- " reign Affairs. The ſacrifice of my place " I conſider as nothing, when it is required " by honour, by my duty, and above all, " by my faithful adherence to the intereſts " of my King."

His Majeſty anſwered this letter by the following note:—" I will keep your re- " ſignation, becauſe it may hereafter ſerve " to

" to prove that you ſent it to me on this " occaſion; but I do not accept it, and I " will explain my reaſons to you. Come " to me this morning without fail."

In the converſation, which took place in conſequence of this note, the King told *M. de Montmorin* that, not expecting his refuſal, he had charged *M. de Leſſart* to write immediately to the Department and the Municipality, to inform them of the orders about to be given to the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of France, at foreign Courts; that *M. de Leſſart's* letter would be inſerted in the public papers *, and that it was impoſſible to defer a meaſure ſo officially announced. " Beſides," added his Majeſty, " you need have no apprehen- " ſions about your honour: I engage to " juſtify you completely at a proper " time." Theſe aſſurances, accompanied by the moſt earneſt entreaties, at laſt determined *M. de Montmorin* to ſign the letter addreſſed to the Ambaſſadors.

This anecdote, known to but very few, will no doubt find many diſinclined to give it

* *M. de Leſſart's* letter was inſerted on the 2d of April, in ſeveral papers, and among others in the *Moniteur*, No. 112.

it credit; and will perhaps be contradicted by ſome. I declare beforehand then that all my proofs of it reſt, firſt, upon the aſſertion of *M. de Montmorin*, who, in anſwer to my reproaches for ſigning ſuch a letter, ſhewed me the King's note above-mentioned, and told me the circumſtances which I have juſt related: and in the next place, upon the certain fact, which I learned from the King himſelf, of *M. de Montmorin*'s reſignation, given at the time of writing the letter to the Ambaſſadors, and kept by his Majeſty till the month of November 1792, when it was accepted on being again urged by *M. de Montmorin.*

The letter propoſed by the *Lameth Party* was ſent on the 23d of April to all the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of France at foreign Courts, and on the ſame day *M. de Montmorin* ſent a copy of it to the Aſſembly. The rapture excited by the reading of it among the Members of the *Coté-Gauche* and in the galleries, was expreſſed by continued applauſes, and by a thouſand cries of *Vive le Roi!* repeated almoſt at every ſentence: but the Members of the *Coté-Droit*, in greater conſternation than ever, kept the profoundeſt ſilence.

Alexander

Alexander de Lameth, immediately after the reading of this letter, roſe, and extolled to the clouds this ſolemn teſtimony of the King's attachment to the new Conſtitution, and the happy effects which were to be expected from it. He moved to thank him for it in a particular manner, by ſending a Deputation to him. Several perſons called out that the Aſſembly ſhould wait on the King in a body, and that a medal ſhould be ſtruck to commemorate this day: *Robeſpierre* moderated this enthuſiaſm by obſerving, that the King would, no doubt, ſee with pain the Aſſembly, forgetting their dignity, move in a body from their places: beſides, it was not ſeaſonable to thank his Majeſty, as it was not now that the Aſſembly were for the firſt time to believe in his patriotiſm; that on the contrary they ought to think that from the beginning of the Revolution the King has remained conſtantly attached to it: and inſtead of thanking, they ſhould congratulate him on the perfect harmony of his ſentiments with thoſe of the Nation. This motion was adopted; and it was decreed at the ſame time, that the King's letter ſhould be ſent to all the civil and military bodies throughout the French empire.

The Preſident then went to the Palace at the head of a numerous Deputation. In his ſpeech to the King, he expreſſed the ſentiments and enthuſiaſm which the Aſſembly had manifeſted. "The French will not be "ſurpriſed," added he, "at this new proof "which you give them of your affection. "Your heart, Sire, is known to them. "They are accuſtomed to pronounce your "name with all the overflowings of tender-"neſs and gratitude which are due to great "benefits. The moment is arrived in which "a calm will ſucceed to the fears and hopes "between which the Nation were fluctuat-"ing in uncertainty. The hydra of Fac-"tion had a hundred heads; you have "ſtruck off the laſt. Sire, I preſume to ſay "to your Majeſty, that you will be happy; "for you have now ſecured the happineſs "of the People."

"I am infinitely ſenſible," anſwered the King, "of the juſtice which the National "Aſſembly renders me. If they could "read the bottom of my heart, they would "there find only ſentiments that would "juſtify the Nation's confidence: every "diſtruſt

" diſtruſt would be baniſhed; we ſhould all " be happy."

The applauſes and acclamations were renewed with tranſport when the Deputation reported this anſwer to the Aſſembly: they ordered it to be printed, and to be ſent to all the Municipal Bodies: but the following day not a ſingle trace remained of that enthuſiaſm which the letter to the Ambaſſadors had at firſt excited. It exaſperated all honeſt men; and the Democrats themſelves, finding it too exaggerated to believe it ſincere, accuſed the King of falſehood and perfidy. Thus this ſtep, far from producing the happy effects which his Majeſty had been made to hope from it, only encreaſed diſtruſt, and rendered his ſituation more critical than it was before. Printed papers ſtuck up upon the very doors of his palace, announced that there were relays prepared on the road from St. Cloud to Compeigne, to favour his departure: and thus the King was obliged to renounce his excurſion to St. Cloud, which he had ſo much at heart.

M. de la Fayette, a ſtranger to all this intrigue of the *Lameth Party*, was wholly engaged

engaged with his own ſituation with reſpect to the Municipality and the National Guard. He appeared on the 22d of April at the Sitting of the Council-General of the Commune, and related, with equal tenderneſs and patriotiſm, the cauſes of his diſcouragement, and the motives which made him perſiſt in his reſignation. "I do not think," ſaid he, "that the National Guard, the great majo-"rity of whom were always ſuperior to the "ſeductions of the ſpirit of licentiouſneſs "and party, can have ſeen with indifference "the conſtitutional authorities diſregarded, "their orders deſpiſed, and the public force "oppoſed to the laws which it is bound to "ſee executed. However, Gentlemen, in "the very kind marks of affection which I "have received, I feel they have done too "much for me, too little for the laws. I "am convinced, with a heart-felt ſatisfac-"tion, that my comrades love me: but I "cannot ſay that I know how much they "cheriſh the principles upon which liberty is "founded. Gentlemen, I make this ſincere "avowal of my ſentiments to you; pray, "communicate them to the National Guards, "from whom I have received the tokens of friendſhip with great ſenſibility, and to

" whom I ſhall always be an affectionate " and grateful brother. I own, that to take " the command of them it would be ne- " ceſſary for me to be aſſured, that perſonal " liberty, the ſafety of families, religious " liberty, and reſpect for the lawful autho- " rities, would, without exception, be held " as ſacred by them as by myſelf. It is " not only courage and vigilance that we " want; but alſo unanimity in the princi- " ples which I have ſtated to you; and I " thought, and ſtill think, that the Conſti- " tution would be better ſerved by a reſig- " nation, from the motives I have ſtated, " than by my compliance with the requeſt " with which you have honoured me."

So affectionate, ſo careſſing a refuſal could not long remain invincible. Nothing could be more grateful to *M. de la Fayette's* mind than to yield, but he wiſhed to yield with dignity; above all, he wiſhed ſome little reparation for the glaring affront he had received on the 18th; and his ſpeech to the Council of the Commune pointed out clearly enough the kind of reparation he deſired. The National Guard did not miſtake it. The very next morning a battalion entered into

into the following reſolution, and ſent it to the fifty-nine other battalions:

"The National Aſſembly decreed, that "the public force was eſſentially obedient, "and a part of the Pariſian army have "ſhewn themſelves eſſentially diſobedient.

"*M. de la Fayette* ceaſed to command "them only becauſe they ceaſed to obey "the law. He requires an entire ſubmiſ-"ſion to the law, and not a fruitleſs attach-"ment to his perſon.

"Let the battalions aſſemble, and let "every citizen-ſoldier ſwear upon his ho-"nour, and ſign his name, to obey the law: "let thoſe who refuſe, be excluded from "the National Guard; and let the wiſhes "of this army, ſo regenerated, be commu-"nicated to *M. de la Fayette*, and he will "hold it his duty to reſume the command "of it.

"Let thoſe who ſo ſhamefully offended "the Royal Family be puniſhed, and turned "out of the National Guard."

The following day all the battalions renewed their oath of obedience to the law. The reſult of their deliberations was tranſ-

mitted to the Municipality, and communicated to *M. de la Fayette*, who at length conſented to reſume his poſt as Commander-in-Chief. Two days afterwards, the Grenadier who had dared to make uſe of ſuch violent language on Palm Sunday at the door of the King's Chapel, was diſcharged; and the Municipality reſolved, that the Grenadier Company* of the battalion of *l'Oratoire*, who on the 18th had ſet an example of inſubordination, ſhould be diſbanded. In purſuance of this reſolution, *M. de la Fayette* repaired at noon to the Court of *l'Oratoire*, where, in preſence of ſeveral detachments of the National Guard, he made thoſe Grenadiers deliver up their muſkets, ſwords, and other accoutrements, and diſbanded them.

While *M. de la Fayette* employed theſe petty methods of re-eſtabliſhing diſcipline in the Pariſian army, the Aſſembly were completing the diſorganization of the French army, by authoriſing all Officers and ſoldiers to attend the Sittings of the Jacobin Clubs when not upon duty, and till the hour of going to quarters. It may here be obſerved,

* This was a company of the *Paid Guards (Soldés)*, formerly the French Guards.

that this decree, propoſed by the Miniſter of War, was paſſed upon the report of *Alexander de Beauharnois*, and ſtrongly ſupported by *M. de Noailles* and *M. de Tracy*, all three Colonels. Indeed this is what the higheſt Orders of the State experienced in this Aſſembly, in which the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Magiſtracy, found their moſt bitter enemies among the chiefs of their own members, and the King a regicide in the only Prince of the blood deputed to the States-General. The truth of this obſervation is but too well ſupported by the facts I have already related; and thoſe make it unneceſſary for me to repeat here ſo many odious names.

CHAPTER XL.

The King, drawn by his Situation into ſome Errors, follows at the ſame Time the Plan of the Baron de Breteuil, that of M. de Montmorin, and that of the Lameth Party, and projects a fourth—Secret Miſſion of Count Alphonſo de Durfort—The Count d'Artois ſees the Emperor at Mantua, and decides upon a Plan with his Imperial Majeſty—Count Alphonſo de Durfort employed to carry a Copy of it to the King—The Pope's Brief againſt the Civil Conſtitution of the Clergy—Report on the Requeſt of the Comtat of Avignon for its Union with France—The Patriotiſm of the Pariſians grows cold—They are diſguſted with the Aſſembly.

Aſſembly — The Aſſembly engaged upon the Organization of the Legiſlative Body that is to ſucceed them—Remarkable Letter of the Abbé Raynal to the Aſſembly— Its Effect — Energetic Step of M. de Montmorin—Its Succeſs—The Office of the Miniſter of Marine offered to me— I decline it—M. Thevenard appointed to it — Uneaſineſs occaſioned by the Emigrants and the Prince de Condé—Declaration which the Aſſembly deſire the King to make known to that Prince—The Cardinal de la Rochefoucault denounced— He eſcapes a Decree of Impeachment by a very ſmall Majority.

CARDINAL *de Retz* ſays very truly, that there are ſituations in which do what we will we can only commit errors. The King was not blind to that which he had committed, in ſuffering himſelf to be directed for a time by the *Lameth party*; but it was the only means he ſaw of avoiding the maſſacre of the prieſts, and in fact, I doubt whether there was any other. This error, into which the King was drawn by circumſtances and by motives which cannot be

blamed, was unfortunately not the only one which at this period he had to repent. The conſtant remonſtrances of the Marquis *de Bouillé* againſt the journey to Montmedi ſhould have prevailed on his Majeſty to abandon that project; eſpecially when *M. de Montmorin* propoſed another, which, without expoſing him to any danger, led to the ſame end by a courſe more proper in every reſpect. It ſeemed at leaſt that the King, after having adopted the latter plan, ſhould have waited till it had failed, before he returned to the former. It was, however, quite the contrary; and it cannot be denied, that on this occaſion his Majeſty attended much leſs to the counſels of prudence than to the eagerneſs, doubtleſs very natural, to recover his liberty, and to reſcue the Royal Family from the humiliations and dangers to which they ought never to have been expoſed.

There is no other way of accounting for all the falſe ſteps which neceſſarily attended the dangerous experiment of purſuing the ſame object by ſeveral oppoſite plans, the principal agents of which could neither concert together nor underſtand each other, and whoſe

whoſe means of execution, far from receiving reciprocal ſupport, could only be hurtful. How, in fact, could the plan of a ſecret departure for Montmedi be reconciled with that of not leaving Paris till the Powers had declared war, and till the King had been called upon by addreſſes from the Departments, and by the wiſhes of the army? or, with the meaſures propoſed by the *Lameth party?* and yet, his Majeſty not only carried on theſe three projects together, but alſo formed a fourth, unknown either to the Baron *de Breteuil* or *M. de Montmorin*. I had myſelf only formed mere conjectures reſpecting this fact, which was occaſioned by ſome words that had eſcaped the King at different times, and I never took the liberty of aſking him any queſtions on this ſubject; but ſince I left France, I have received the moſt accurate information upon this intereſting point, and I declare, that the truth of the facts which I am going to relate, has been atteſted to me either verbally or by writing, by four perſons who were the moſt likely to be perfectly acquainted with it: I mean *M. de Laſcazas*, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, *M. de Calonne*, the Count *de Vaudreuil*,

dreuil, and the Count *Alphonſe de Durfort* *.

The extreme uneaſineſs which the inſurrection of the 18th of April, and the fermentation which followed, gave the King and the Queen, made them deſirous of informing the Count *d'Artois* of their true ſituation, and of the ſtate of affairs in France, more accurately and circumſtantially than prudence would permit by letters. Their Majeſties determined to ſend a confidential perſon to him, and one whoſe attachment and loyalty were known to his Royal Highneſs. They caſt their eyes on the Count *Alphonſe de Durfort*, and charged *M. de C*—— to ſound him, reſpecting ſome ſecret miſſion for the ſervice of the King, without telling him the nature of it, and to aſſure him at the ſame time, that their Majeſties did not inſiſt upon his undertaking it, and that they ſhould not be the leaſt diſpleaſed if he declined it. *M. de C*—— mentioned it to him on Good Friday (22d April). Count

* The Count *Alphonſo de Durfort*, who was charged with the ſecret commiſſion related in the following pages, has written the particulars of it, in a memoir which he communicated to me.

Alphonſo

Alphonſe de Durfort's anſwer was, that whatever was for the ſervice of the King required no time for conſideration, and that he would undertake the miſſion, whatever were its object. *M. de C*—— then told him the circumſtances, deſired him to reflect upon it, and if he perſiſted in undertaking it, he was to attend at the Queen's party on Eaſter Monday, and anſwer *No, Madam*, to the queſtions which her Majeſty would aſk him on the departure of the Venetian Ambaſſadreſs, as it was agreed with her Majeſty that this ſhould be the ſign of his undertaking it. Count *Alphonſe* afterwards conſulted with *M. de C*—— on the mode of rendering his commiſſion as uſeful and ſatisfactory as it could be to their Majeſties and his Royal Highneſs the Count *d'Artois*. The method which appeared beſt to him for this purpoſe, was to propoſe to their Majeſties the various queſtions which he preſumed the Count *d'Artois* would not fail to put to him, to receive their anſwers to theſe queſtions, and to deliver them to his Royal Highneſs.

M. de C—— mentioned this plan to the King and Queen, who approved it. Count *Alphonſe*, in conſequence, went to the Queen's

Queen's party, on Eaſter Monday, and there made the anſwer agreed upon relative to the departure of the Venetian Ambaſſadreſs.—On the next day he had an interview with their Majeſties, who permitted him to preſent his queſtions to them, and to write their anſwer, in order to impreſs them upon his memory. The following is an exact copy of thoſe queſtions and anſwers: the anſwers are ſuppoſed to be addreſſed to the Count *d'Artois.*

1ſt *Queſtion.* Do your Majeſties confide in the intentions and in the zeal of the Count *d'Artois?* Is there any ground for the anxiety he has been made to ſuffer, as to your ſentiments in reſpect to him, and as to your intentions to put yourſelves into the hands of the Factious in the Aſſembly, rather than owe your ſafety, and the re-eſtabliſhment of your authority, to the efforts and ſucceſs of the Princes, in conjunction with the Nobility of the Kingdom?

Anſwer. (*dictated by the Queen*). You are deceived. Your ſituation is that which occupies their Majeſties moſt. How can it be believed, that with the exalted ſpirit you know they poſſeſs, they prefer remaining under

under the yoke of infamous villains, to being ſuccoured by their near relations and faithful ſervants?

2d Queſtion. What do your Majeſties think of *M. de la Fayette?*

Anſwer. We conſider him as a fanatic, weak, factious man, in whom we can never have the leaſt confidence.

3d Queſtion. What do you think of *M. de Montmorin?*

Anſwer. His will is good, but he has no power.

4th Queſtion. Has the Archbiſhop of *Sens* any influence on the determinations of your Majeſties?

Anſwer. None. He is generally abhorred and deſpiſed by all parties. We concur in this public opinion. He has beſides deceived us.

5th Queſtion. Why did the King go to the Aſſembly, after being prevented from going to St. Cloud?

Anſwer. He was forced by his Miniſters, on whom he could not rely.

6th Queſtion. In what ſtate is the mind of the People? Have your Majeſties in the Aſſembly any perſons on whom you can rely?

Anſwer.

Anſwer. The mind of the People is deteſtable; they are for no King. We have no perſon in the Aſſembly. The only Deputy who made overtures to us is dead.

7th Queſtion. How is the letter addreſſed to all the Ambaſſadors to be juſtified?

Anſwer. The date proves the neceſſity of it. The King did not ſign it, and he made no alteration in it, that it might appear as monſtrous as it really was: it was drawn up by members of the Aſſembly, who thought this ſtep indiſpenſably neceſſary, and who expected great ſucceſs from it.

8th Queſtion. Have your Majeſties a deſire or intention of leaving Paris?

Anſwer. The greateſt deſire; but the means of effecting it appear to us almoſt impoſſible. In caſe the opportunity ſhould offer, we wiſh to know beforehand in what place we ſhould be moſt ſecure, by Valenciennes or Metz. We are very anxious on this head.

The King and Queen authoriſed Count *Alphonſe* to inform *M. de Calonne* of his miſſion, to aſſure him that their Majeſties were pleaſed to ſee the confidence which the Count *d'Artois* had in him, and that they were

were convinced, that he would give him ſuch counſel only as would be for their ſervice. They charged him alſo to adviſe him to break off all correſpondence with the Viſcounteſs *de L.* whoſe opinions were more than ſuſpected, and who, living publicly with the late Biſhop of *Autun*, might acquaint him with every thing ſhe knew, and thus injure the buſineſs; and to tell him that one of the letters which he had written to her, and in which he had expreſſed his hopes for the ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment of Cardinal *de Montmorency*, had been ſhewn to the Queen by *Madame de Laynes*.

On the 28th of April Count *Alphonſe* ſet out for Switzerland. He ſaw *M. d'Autichamp* at Berne, who acquainted him that the Count *d'Artois* was at Vicenza.

At this period the Emperor, who was travelling in Italy with his ſiſter, the Queen of Naples, went to Florence. *M. de Calonne* arriving there, his Imperial Majeſty conſented to ſee him, and had ſeveral private conferences with him, in a ſmall retired houſe, ſeparated from the Palace, to which, from a ſingular humour, the Emperor always went alone, without any ſuite or ſervants,

vants, and opened the door himſelf to the perſons whom he appointed to meet him there.

M. de Calonne, after having diſcloſed the views and wiſhes of the Count *d'Artois* to the Emperor, engaged him to grant the Prince an interview, and his Imperial Majeſty ſaid he would, without delay, appoint the day and place. *M. de Calonne* returned to inform the Count *d'Artois* of this: and it was at this juncture that Count *Alphonſe* arrived at Vicenza, where he found his Royal Highneſs, and acquainted him with the object of his miſſion. The Prince, greatly affected, and ſhedding tears at the misfortunes of the King and Queen, and at the confidence that their Majeſties repoſed in him, became the more impatient to ſee the Emperor, and to impreſs him with his own emotions. He flattered himſelf to be able to excite his feelings ſo ſtrongly as to determine him to adopt meaſures the moſt likely to deliver their Majeſties ſpeedily from the dreadful ſituation to which they were reduced, and to prevent the calamities which threatened France.

The Emperor having informed the Count *d'Artois*

d'Artois, that the interview which he had promiſed him ſhould take place at Mantua on the 20th of May, the Prince repaired thither on that day, accompanied by *M. de Calonne*, *M. Deſcars* and Count *Alphonſe de Durfort*, and on his arrival ſent to inquire at what hour the Emperor would receive him. His Imperial Majeſty anſwered, that it ſhould be at what hour he pleaſed, and invited him to dinner. The Count *d'Artois* went in the uniform of the Swiſs Regiment, and was received by the Emperor as favourably as he could deſire. The joy and ſurpriſe of his Royal Highneſs were extreme, when he learned that a powerful coalition was forming for the relief of the King and Queen; that the Emperor was already aſſured of the concurrence of the Circles, Switzerland, Spain, Sardinia, and other Powers; and that it only remained to determine, by a well concerted plan, the moſt advantageous manner of employing theſe forces, and the meaſures to be taken in the interior to ſecond this movement and inſure its ſucceſs, without their Majeſties being reduced to the neceſſity of executing the project of retreating to Metz, of which *M. de Mercy* had informed the Emperor.

After dinner the Count *d'Artois* went to *M. de Calonne*, and charged him immediately to draw up a note upon the different objects on which his Royal Highneſs had treated in this converſation. This note, and the plan that reſulted from it, being finiſhed the ſame day at eight in the evening, the Count *d'Artois* immediately returned, accompanied by *M. de Calonne*, to communicate it to the Emperor.

The diſcuſſion of this plan took up more than two hours; and the Emperor with his own hand corrected ſeveral articles, and particularly that in which the march of the troops was ſettled for the month of July or Auguſt: he fixed it *for the month of July at fartheſt.* When all the articles were agreed and reſolved upon, his Imperial Majeſty ſent for Count *Alphonſe*, and with his own lips aſſured him of his firm reſolution to execute the plan of which he was to be the bearer. "You will give my compliments "to my brother and ſiſter," added the Emperor, "and tell them that we are going to "ſet about their affairs, and that it will not "be by words, but by deeds."

As Count *Alphonſe* was to ſet off the following day for Paris, the reſt of the night

was employed in making three copies of the plan which he was to take with him; that deſigned for the King was written with milk, and given to Count *Alphonſe*, who, by miſtake, and without *M. de Calonne's* perceiving it, alſo took with him the minute corrected by the Emperor's hand. He was expreſsly enjoined to learn all the articles by heart before he ſet off, leſt unforeſeen circumſtances ſhould oblige him to deſtroy the copy he carried. The day after his departure he was overtaken at Baſle, by an Aid-de-Camp of the Count *d'Artois*, who delivered a letter to him from *M. de Calonne*, in which that Miniſter informed him, that letters which his Royal Highneſs had juſt received from *Madame Elizabeth* contained intelligence that his journey and the object of it were known in France; that he would certainly be ſtopped and ſearched at the frontiers, and that he ought not to heſitate to burn the copy he had, having firſt reſtored the writing by coal-duſt, or by holding it to the fire, in order to impreſs it more deeply on his memory, and to be able to give the King the moſt exact account of it.

Count *Alphonſe* did not doubt but that the alarm which *Madame Elizabeth* had given to the Count *d'Artois* had been ſuggeſted to that Princeſs by one of thoſe perſons, who, either out of curioſity or to make a parade of their zeal, are eager to ſpread chimerical fears, or relate ſtories invented on purpoſe to endeavour to diſcover ſomething of a ſecret concealed from them. He therefore only burned, in preſence of the Aid-de-Camp who had been ſent to him, the copy written with milk which he was to have delivered to the King, but not the minute which was alſo in his port-folio.

Count *Alphonſe*'s miſſion had not prevented the King from purſuing the plan, and making preparations for his departure for Montmedy. The travelling coach which the Count *de Ferſon* had been commiſſioned to order for their Majeſties was ready, and *M. de Goguelas*, who had been ſent by *M. de Bouillé* in the latter end of April to inform the King of the different diſpoſitions planned by the General, was waiting for his Majeſty's final orders. *M. de Montmorin*, who was equally ignorant of Count *Alphonſe*'s miſſion, and the plan of going to Montmedy,

Montmedy, was carrying on the moſt active correſpondence to accelerate the execution of his plan, and was informed by *M. de Mercy* of the progreſs and ſucceſs of the negotiation relative to a coalition of the Powers. The King, to whom he gave an account of it, calculating that the Auſtrian army might arrive in the environs of Arlon about the middle of the month of June, ſent off *M. de Goguelas* in the beginning of May, and charged him with a letter, in which his Majeſty mentioned this to *M. de Bouillé*, and informed him that he intended to ſet out on the 15th of June; therefore that all the preparations ſhould be made for that period: but that the King would appriſe him more poſitively of the day and hour for his departure.

The King in another letter, dated the 27th of May, informed *M. de Bouillé*, that the departure of the Royal Family was finally fixed for the 19th of June, between midnight and one o'clock in the morning *. The following day Count *Alphonſe*, of whom the King had had no tidings ſince his departure, arrived at Paris on the ſeventh day

* See *M. de Bouillé*'s Memoirs, chap. xii.

after his leaving Mantua, without having been ſearched, ſtopped, or queſtioned, either on the frontiers or in the towns through which he had paſſed. On his arrival, he ſaw *M. de C****, and communicated the plan ſettled at Mantua, and of which he had made a freſh copy. Their Majeſties, on being informed of his arrival, charged *M. de C**** to bring him the following day at eleven in the morning to the King's room, through the door that opened into the apartment of his Majeſty's head valet-de-chambre. He attended at the appointed hour. The King and Queen were already there, and gave him ſuch a reception as the ſervice he had rendered them deſerved. He delivered to their Majeſties the plan with which he was charged, and of which the following is a faithful extract:

"The Emperor ſhall order 35,000 men "to march towards the frontiers of Flanders "and Hainault, and at the ſame time the "troops of the Circles, to the number of "15,000 men, ſhall proceed to Alſace. "The ſame number of Swiſs ſhall appear "on the frontiers of the Lyonnois and "Franche Comté; the King of Sardinia "upon

" upon that of Dauphiné with 15,000 men. " Spain has already aſſembled 12,000 men " in Catalonia, and will raiſe them to " 20,000 troops, to threaten the ſouthern " Provinces. Theſe different armies will " form a maſs of about 100,000 men, " which ſhall march in five columns to the " ſeveral frontiers bordering on the differ- " ent States. To theſe armies ſhall be joined " the regiments remaining loyal, the armed " volunteers who may be relied on, and all " the malcontents of the provinces.

" The Emperor is aſſured of the good " diſpoſition of the King of Pruſſia; and " his Imperial Majeſty has himſelf under- " taken the direct correſpondence with the " Court of Berlin. The King of England " as Elector of Hanover alſo deſires to enter " into the coalition, which muſt be kept a " profound ſecret till the inſtant of the ex- " ploſion: for which reaſon care muſt be " taken to prevent any partial inſurrection " in the Interior.

" All being thus arranged for the end of " July, the declaration of the Houſe of Bour- " bon ſhall appear: it ſhall be ſigned by " the King of Spain, the King of Naples, " the Infant of Parma, and the Princes of

" the Blood that are at liberty. The Mani-
" feſto of the Powers engaged in the coa-
" lition ſhall appear immediately after.

" Although the Emperor is the ſoul and
" leader of the enterpriſe, it would moſt
" probably place the Queen in a perilous
" ſituation if he ſhould appear as the prime
" mover; for this plan would be certainly
" attributed to the Houſe of Auſtria, and
" the Aſſembly will uſe their utmoſt en-
" deavours to render it odious to the People.

" The Emperor is going to write to the
" King of Spain to haſten his preparations,
" and exhort him to ſign without delay the
" declaration of the Houſe of Bourbon. The
" King and Queen of Naples, who are ac-
" quainted with it, only wait the ſignature
" of Spain to affix theirs.

" The intentions of the King of Sardinia
" are excellent: he only waits the Empe-
" ror's ſignal. The Diet of Ratiſbon, who
" have received the decree for a commiſſion,
" are about to take their laſt reſolutions.

" The neutrality of England may be re-
" lied upon.

" Every thing being thus concerted with the
" Powers, this plan ought to be conſidered
" as ſettled; and care ſhould be taken that

" it

" it is not thwarted by jarring ideas. Their " Majeſties ſhould carefully avoid dividing " their confidence, and letting many into " the ſecret; having already experienced " that it only hurts, retards, and embar- " raſſes.

" The Parliaments are neceſſary for the " re-eſtabliſhment of forms; conſequently " a continual correſpondence muſt be kept " up with ſeveral Members of the Supreme " Courts, to be able to reaſſemble them " eaſily when the time comes.

" Though hitherto it had been wiſhed " that their Majeſties might themſelves " procure their liberty, the preſent ſituation " of affairs makes it neceſſary to entreat " them earneſtly to drop the idea. Their " poſition is very different from that in " which they ſtood previous to the 18th of " April, before the King had been com- " pelled to go to the Aſſembly, and to " cauſe the letter to be written to the Am- " baſſadors. The only object that ought to " take up their Majeſties' attention, is to " employ every poſſible means to increaſe " their popularity, to take advantage of it " when the time ſhould come, and ſo that " the people, alarmed at the approach of the

" foreign

" foreign armies, ſhould find their ſafety " only in the King's mediation, and their " ſubmiſſion to his Majeſty's authority. " This is the Emperor's opinion. He de- " pends ſolely on this plan of conduct for " the ſucceſs of the meaſures which he has " adopted, and particularly requeſts that " every other may be given up. What " might happen to their Majeſties, if in " their flight they ſhould not be able to eſ- " cape a barbarous vigilance, makes him " ſhudder with horror. His Imperial Ma- " jeſty thinks that their Majeſties' ſureſt " courſe is the movement of the armies of " the allied Powers, preceded by threaten- " ing manifeſtos."

The plan being read, their Majeſties, without entering upon a minute diſcuſſion of the different articles of it, only obſerved, that with reſpect to the Parliaments, after the declarations contained in their laſt reſolutions, they could not and ought not to be more than Judges.

" Would it not be very ſatisfactory," added the King, " if the declaration of the " 23d of June were reſorted to?" Count *Alphonſe* anſwered, that the opinion of the Emperor

Emperor and his very words were: "That "the King ought to reſume all his autho- "rity, and regulate it himſelf as he ſhould "judge proper; with a reaſonable conſide- "ration of the deſires ſtated in the majority "of the inſtructions given to the Deputies. "That the King of France had done more "than any other monarch in favour of his "People; who, in return for his kindneſs, "had loaded him with outrages."—"That "is true," ſaid the King; "nothing of the "kind would have happened if the States- "General had been convoked in 1787, in- "ſtead of 1789: but that idea did not "occur to me; and none of the Miniſters "thought of it."

The King did not deliver his ſentiments concerning the laſt article of the plan; but the Queen appeared very much diſſatisfied with it, and ſaid with warmth: "We ought "to attempt every thing in order to leave "Paris; but to go only to the frontiers: "for a King ought never to leave his King- "dom. Confeſs," added ſhe, addreſſing herſelf to Count *Alphonſe*, "that my bro- "ther was hurt that we employed the Baron "*de Breteuil*. We did it becauſe he was "the only perſon acquainted with the Court

"of

" of Vienna, where he reſided; and becauſe " he was known to the Prince *de Kaunitz*, " who has ſo long held the reins there." Several other queſtions relative to the Count *d'Artois* terminated this converſation.

The coalition of the Powers was the principal means propoſed by *M. de Montmorin*, and it was formed in execution of his plan, which the King and the Emperor had approved; but the inſurrection of the 18th of April, and the events that followed in conſequence, had made his Imperial Majeſty think, that as the ſituation of the King was changed, it was neceſſary to have recourſe to new meaſures; and that of uniting the regiments remaining faithful, the emigrants, the nobility, and all the malcontents of the Kingdom, with the foreign armies, appeared to him proper to impreſs the greater terror, by adding to the fear of a foreign war that of a civil one: but that was preciſely what the King moſt dreaded himſelf; and this alone was ſufficient to prevent him from participating in any manner in the execution of the plan. On the other hand, their Majeſties' impatience to quit Paris was ſo great, that the advice to *drop the idea of it* could not be agreeable to them. The King therefore did not recall the

the orders which he had given to the Marquis *de Bouillé*, in the letter of the 27th of May, and, on different excuſes, refuſed thoſe which *M. de Montmorin* was continually applying for to diſpatch to the Baron *de Gilliers*.

Nothing tranſpired concerning any of theſe plans during the month of May. The Pope's brief againſt the civil conſtitution of the Clergy, and by which his Holineſs ſuſpended the Biſhop of *Autun* from all his functions, and declared him excommunicated after forty days, if he did not recant his errors, was for ſeveral days the topic of the converſations and pamphlets of the Capital.

The requeſt relative to the union of the Comtat of Avignon to France, which had already been twice diſcuſſed and rejected by an adjournment of the queſtion, occupied the Aſſembly during the firſt Sittings in May, and was again formally rejected by a decree; in paſſing which the votes were called, and there appeared 487 againſt 316, notwithſtanding the injury done by the Pope's brief to his moſt legal intereſts, and the hopes of the Factious grounded on that circumſtance. The eloquence

quence and ſolid argument with which the Abbé *Maury*, *M. de Cazalès*, *M. de Clermont Tonnerre* and *M. Malouct* defended the rights of the Holy See, cauſed the decree propoſed by the Committee to be rejected.

The ſame decree was a ſecond time preſented a fortnight afterwards, *as the only means*, ſaid the Reporter (*M. de Menou*), *of extinguiſhing the torches of fanaticiſm, and the flame of civil war, which deſolated the Comtat, and became daily more bloody.* The queſtion ſo often debated on this ſubject was renewed with more violence than ever; nevertheleſs the iſſue was the ſame. The decree was rejected upon a call of the votes; there appearing 374 againſt 368*.

The Aſſembly alſo conſumed ſeveral Sittings in the month of May, in diſcuſſions concerning the ſtate of perſons free, not free, and manumitted in the Colonies, and concluded with decreeing almoſt unanimouſly, that no law could be paſſed on the ſubject, but upon preciſe and voluntary proceedings originating in the Colonial Aſſemblies.—(*May* 13.)

* *Avignon* and the *Comtat Vainaiſſin* were not declared integral parts of the French Empire until the decree of the 14th of September following.

The

The public partook but little in the warmth with which the different parties conducted their debates. Patriotiſm was viſibly cooling, and the Aſſembly preſerved a ſmall remainder of popularity only by frequently ſpeaking of the time of their diſſolution, and announcing it as very near at hand. To leave no doubt on this head, they took into conſideration the organization of the Legiſlative Body that was to ſucceed them; and they decreed, that the Primary Aſſemblies ſhould be convoked between the 12th and 25th of June following, for the nomination of new Deputies: but the decree by which they acquired the greateſt applauſe at this period, was that which enacted, that no Member in the preſent Aſſembly could be returned for the next Legiſlature. The people were ſo heartily tired with always ſeeing the ſame men in the ſame place, that their diſguſt was extended as well to thoſe who had the moſt enjoyed their favour, as to their antagoniſts. It was ſaid *to be high time that the National Repreſentation ſhould change countenance;* and this pun expreſſed the general wiſh. Nevertheleſs they were ſtill patient, becauſe the Committees had taken care to announce, that after the criminal code,

code, which had been already diſcuſſed in ſeveral Sittings, was concluded, the Aſſembly would have no more to engage them than the municipal code, the code of the police, the national conventions, and the definitive organization of the Executive Power; and that the laws on theſe ſubjects would be all finally paſſed before the end of July.

The Abbé *Raynal** could not have choſen a more favourable juncture for ſending to the Aſſembly his famous letter, which was dictated by the grief and alarm he felt on ſeeing the frightful conſequences of thoſe principles, of which he had himſelf been the moſt ardent ſupporter. This compoſition, the wiſeſt and moſt valuable that ever came from the pen of the Abbé *Raynal*, was read to the Aſſembly, and is as follows:

" GENTLEMEN,

" On my arrival in this Capital after a " long abſence, my heart and my eyes " turned towards you. You would have

* A philoſophical writer, well known by his Hiſtory of the Commerce of the Indies, by his high notions concerning liberty, equality, &c. &c. &c. and by his declamations againſt the modes of government.

" ſeen

" ſeen me at the feet of this auguſt Aſſem-
" bly, if my age and infirmities would per-
" mit me to ſpeak to you without too great
" emotion, on the great things you have
" done, and of thoſe ſtill neceſſary to be
" done, to eſtabliſh on this agitated land
" that peace, liberty, and happineſs which
" it is your intention to procure for us.
" Do not think that any who are acquainted
" with the indefatigable zeal, talents, know-
" ledge, and courage you have diſplayed in
" your immenſe labours, are deficient in
" gratitude; others have told you of it,
" others have dwelt upon the title you have
" to the eſteem of the Nation. For me,
" whether you conſider me as a citizen
" uſing the right of petitioning, or leaving
" free ſcope to my gratitude, you permit an
" old friend of liberty to return what he
" owes you for the protection with which
" you have honoured him; I beſeech you
" not to reject uſeful truths. I have long
" dared to ſpeak to Kings of their duty;
" ſuffer me now to ſpeak to the People of
" their errors, and to their Repreſentatives
" of the dangers which threaten us. I am,
" I own to you, deeply afflicted at the
" crimes which plunge this Empire into

" mourning. Is it true that I am to look back
" with horror at myſelf for being one of
" thoſe who, by feeling a noble indignation
" againſt arbitrary power, may perhaps have
" furniſhed arms to licentiouſneſs? Do then
" Religion, the Laws, the Royal Authority,
" and Public Order, demand back from Phi-
" loſophy and Reaſon the ties which united
" them to this grand ſociety of the French
" Nation, as if by expoſing abuſes, and
" teaching the rights of the People and the
" duties of Princes, our criminal efforts had
" broken thoſe ties? But no—never have
" the bold conceptions of philoſophy been
" repreſented by us as the ſtrict rule for
" acts of legiſlation.

" You cannot juſtly attribute to us what
" could only be the reſult of a falſe inter-
" pretation of our principles. Alas! now
" that I ſtand upon the brink of the grave;
" now that I am about to quit this immenſe
" family whoſe happineſs I have ardently
" deſired, what do I ſee around me? Reli-
" gious troubles, civil diſſenſions, conſter-
" nation on the one hand, tyranny and auda-
" city on the other; a Government the
" ſlave of popular tyranny; the ſanctuary
" of the laws ſurrounded by unruly men,

" who

" who alternately either dictate or deſpiſe
" them; ſoldiers without diſcipline; leaders
" without authority; Miniſters without
" means; a King, the firſt friend of his
" People, plunged into bitterneſs, inſulted,
" menaced, ſtripped of all authority, and
" the public power no longer exiſting, but
" in Clubs, in which ignorant and rude
" men dare to decide all political queſ-
" tions." [*Here murmurs broke forth from the Coté-Gauche.*]

" Such, believe me, is the real ſituation of
" France. No other than myſelf would per-
" haps dare to tell it to you; but *I* dare, be-
" cauſe I ought; becauſe I am upon the verge
" of eighty;" [*A voice from the Coté-Gauche ſaid, So it appears.*]—" Becauſe I cannot
" be accuſed of regretting the ancient ſyſ-
" tem; becauſe, when I bewail the ruined
" ſtate of the church of France," [*Here a laugh from the Coté-Gauche.*] " I can-
" not be accuſed of being a fanatic prieſt;
" becauſe, in conſidering the re-eſtabliſh-
" ment of lawful authority as the only
" means of ſafety, I cannot be accuſed of
" being a partiſan, or of expecting favours;
" becauſe, in attacking thoſe citizens who

" have ſet the Kingdom in flames, and per-
" verted the public mind by their writings,
" I ſhall not be accuſed of undervaluing the
" liberty of the preſs. Alas! I was full
" of hope and joy, when I beheld you lay-
" ing the foundations of the public happi-
" neſs, reforming abuſes, proclaiming the
" rights of all, and bringing the different
" parts of the Empire under the ſame laws
" and a uniform ſyſtem; but my eyes over-
" flowed with tears, when I beheld the moſt
" wicked of men employing the vileſt of
" intrigues to ſully the Revolution; when
" I ſaw the holy name of Patriotiſm proſti-
" tuted to villainy, and licentiouſneſs march-
" ing in triumph under the banners of Li-
" berty. Dread mingled with my juſt grief
" when I beheld all the ſprings of Govern-
" ment deſtroyed, and weak barriers ſubſti-
" tuted inſtead of an active and repreſſing
" power. I have looked every where for
" the traces of that central authority
" which a great Nation places in the hands
" of the Monarch for its own ſafety—but
" all in vain. I looked for thoſe prin-
" ciples which are the preſervers of pro-
" perty, and I ſaw them invaded." [*Great*
murmurs

murmurs in the Aſſembly.] " I looked for " the ſhelter where perſonal liberty repoſes, " and I ſaw audacity continually increaſing, " invoking, awaiting the ſignal of deſtruc- " tion, which the Factious, and the Innova- " tors, as dangerous as the Factious, are " ready to give. I heard thoſe inſidious " voices that alarm you with falſe terrors, " in order to turn aſide your attention from " real dangers; that inſpire you with fatal " diſtruſts, in order to lead you to deſtroy, " one after another, all the props of the " Monarchical Government; above all, I " ſhuddered to obſerve, in their new ſtate " of exiſtence, this People, who wiſh to " be free; I ſaw them not only miſtaking " the ſocial virtues, humanity and juſtice, " the only foundations of real Liberty, but " alſo receiving with avidity the new ſeeds " of corruption, and thus ſuffering themſelves " to be fettered with a new chain of ſlavery. " Alas! what are my ſufferings, when in " the heart of the Capital, in the centre of " knowledge, I ſee this miſguided people " welcome, with a ferocious joy, the moſt " criminal propoſitions—ſmile at the reci- " tal of murder, and celebrate their crimes " as conqueſts!" [*A voice from the Coté-*

Gauche ſaid, This is one of M. Malouet's reports.] "For this people are unacquainted, "that a ſingle crime is the ſource of infinite "calamities. I ſee them laugh and dance "upon the brink of a precipice which may "ſwallow up even hope. This ſhow of joy "is what has moſt deeply affected me: your "indifference at this dreadful perverſion of "the public mind is the firſt and only cauſe "of the change which has been wrought "reſpecting yourſelves, of that change by "which corrupted adulations, or murmurs "ſtifled by fear, have taken place of the "pure homage paid to your firſt labours; "but whatever courage I am inſpired with "by the knowledge of my laſt hour being "at hand, however ſtimulated even by the "love of Liberty to a performance of my "duty, ſtill I feel, in addreſſing you, that "reſpect and ſpecies of fear, which no man "can throw off when he imagines himſelf "arguing with the Repreſentatives of a "great people.

"Muſt I ſtop here, or continue to ſpeak to "you in the name of poſterity? Yes, I think "you worthy of hearing that language. I "have all my life meditated on the ideas "which you have been applying to the rege-

"neration

" neration of the Kingdom; I have meditated
" upon them at a period when, repulſed by
" every ſocial inſtitution, by every intereſt,
" by every prejudice, they had only the al-
" lurement of a ſoothing wiſh. I had then
" no motive to make the application, or to
" calculate the effect of the terrible incon-
" veniences attending factions, when inveſt-
" ed with the power that commands men
" and things, when the reſiſtance of things,
" and the paſſions of men, are the elements
" neceſſary to be combined; which, in the
" circumſtances and at the time I wrote,
" I neither could nor ought to evince. The
" circumſtances and the times in which you
" are acting require you to attend to them,
" and I think it incumbent upon me to in-
" form you that you have not done it ſuf-
" ficiently.

" By this ſingle, but continued error, you
" have vitiated your work, you have reduced
" yourſelves to ſuch a ſituation, that you
" can only preſerve it from total ruin by
" going back, or marking out this retrograde
" motion for your ſucceſſors. Should you
" fear to encounter alone all the hatred that
" ſurrounds the Altar of Liberty, be aſ-
" ſured, that this heroic ſacrifice will not

" be the leaſt of the conſoling reflections " you will lay up for yourſelves. What " men muſt they be, who, leaving their " country all the good they have been able " to do it, reſerve to themſelves ſolely the " reproaches due to real and ſerious evils, " but of which they can accuſe only events? " I think you worthy of ſo exalted a deſ- " tiny, and that idea encourages me to point " out to you unreſervedly the defects which " you have introduced into the French " Conſtitution.

" Called upon to regenerate France, you " ought in the firſt place to have conſidered " what you could preſerve of the old order, " and, moreover, what you could not give " up. France was a Monarchy: its ex- " tent, its wants, its manners, the National " ſpirit, are inſeparable bars to the admiſſion " of Republican forms into it, without ef- " fecting the total diſſolution of the Em- " pire. The Monarchical power was vi- " tiated from two cauſes: its foundation " was ſurrounded with prejudices, and its " limits were marked only by partial reſiſt- " ance. To refine the principles by fixing " the Throne upon its true baſis, the Sove- " reignty of the Nation; and to ſettle the

" limits, by placing them in the National " Repreſentation, were what you had to do. " You think you have done it! But in or- " ganizing the two powers, the ſtrength " and ſucceſs of the Conſtitution depend on " their balance. You had only to guard " againſt the preſent bias of ideas. You " muſt have ſeen that in public opinion the " power of Kings was declining, and the " rights of the People increaſing. By " weakening without meaſure what is al- " ready tending naturally to decay, and " ſtrengthening in its ſource what is natu- " rally tending to increaſe, you are drawn " forcibly to this ſad iſſue; a King with- " out authority, and a People without con- " trol. It was by delivering yourſelves up " to the diſtractions of opinion that you ſe- " conded the influence of the multitude, and " eſtabliſhed popular elections without end.

" Have you not forgotten that frequent " elections unceaſingly renewed, and the " ſhort duration of powers, are cauſes which " relax the political ſprings? Have you not " forgotten that the form of Government " ought to bear a juſt proportion between " the protectors and protected? You have

" preſerved

" preſerved the name of King, but in your " Conſtitution he is no longer uſeful, he is " even dangerous. You have reduced his " influence to that which corruption may " uſurp; you have in a manner invited him " to oppoſe a Conſtitution which inceſſantly " ſhews him what he is not, and what he " might be. This then is a vice inherent " in your Conſtitution; a vice which will " deſtroy it, if you or your ſucceſſors do not " haſten to root it out.

" I will not ſpeak to you of the faults " which may be attributed to circum- " ſtances—you perceive them yourſelves; " but how can you ſuffer the evil which " you may deſtroy, to remain? After hav- " ing declared the right of the liberty of " religious opinions, how can you ſuffer " prieſts to be oppreſſed with perſecutions " and outrages?" [*A movement of indignation was manifeſted by the Coté-Gauche.*] " After having conſecrated the principles of " individual liberty, how can you ſuffer a " Conſtitution to exiſt in your boſom, " which ſerves as a model and pretext for " all the ſubaltern inquiſitions that a fac- " tious apprehenſion has erected in every

" part

" part of the Empire? How is it that you " are not alarmed at the audacity and ſuc- " ceſs of the writers who profane the name " of patriot? You have a Monarchical Go- " vernment, and they cauſe it to be deteſted. " You wiſh the liberty of the People, and " they wiſh to make the People a moſt fe- " rocious tyrant. You wiſh to regenerate " morals, and they command the triumph " of vice and the impunity of crimes.

" I will not ſpeak to you of your mea- " ſures of finance. God forbid that I ſhould " increaſe alarm, or diminiſh hope! The " public fortune is ſtill in your hands; but " be well aſſured that neither taxes, credit, " receipt or expences are certain, where the " Government is neither powerful nor re- " ſpected. What kind of Government could " reſiſt this predominant influence of Clubs? " You have deſtroyed the corporations, and " yet the moſt coloſſal of all aſſociations " riſes over your heads, and threatens to " diſſolve all the powers. France is now " divided into two very diſtinct claſſes; " that of honeſt moderate men, who are at " preſent mute and diſmayed; and violent " ſpirits, who attract each other, unite, and " compoſe a formidable volcano, which

" ejects

" ejects a lava of terrors capable of burying
" all. You have publiſhed a declaration of
" rights, and that declaration is perfect, if
" you diſengage it from metaphyſical ab-
" ſtractions, which only tend to ſpread
" through the French Empire the ſeeds of
" diſorganization and diſorder. Inceſſantly
" heſitating between principles which you
" are prevented from modifying, and cir-
" cumſtances which force exceptions from
" you, you do very little for the public
" good, and too much for your doctrine—
" You are often wavering and impolitic, at
" the moment when you wiſh to be neither.
" You ſee that none of theſe obſervations
" eſcape the friends of Liberty. They de-
" mand back from you the depoſit of the
" public opinion, of which you are but
" the organs. Europe is looking on you
" with aſtoniſhment; Europe, which may
" be ſhaken to its very foundations, by the
" propagation of your principles, is enraged
" at their exaggeration. The ſilence of its
" Princes may perhaps be owing to dread.
" But do not aſpire to the fatal honour of
" rendering yourſelves formidable, by im-
" moderate innovations, as dangerous to
" yourſelves as to your neighbours! Once
" more

" more open the annals of the world, call " to your aid the wiſdom of ages, and ſee " how many Empires have periſhed by " anarchy.

" It is time to put an end to that " which diſtracts us; to ſtop vengeance, " ſedition, and mutiny, and to reſtore peace " and confidence. To attain this ſalutary " end you have but one means, and that is, " by a reviſion of your decrees to re-unite " and ſtrengthen the powers weakened by " their being ſeparated, to grant to the " King all the force neceſſary to ſecure the " authority of the Laws, and, above all, to " ſecure the liberty of the Primary Aſſem- " blies, from which the Factious have " driven all virtuous and wiſe citizens."— [*Here ſome of the Aſſembly applauded and ſome murmured.*] " Do you think that the " re-eſtabliſhment of the Executive Power " can be the work of your ſucceſſors? No; " they will aſſemble with leſs force than " you poſſeſs: they will have to gain that " popular opinion which you have diſpoſed " of. You alone can create again what you " have deſtroyed, or ſuffered to be deſtroyed. " You fixed the baſis of a rational Conſti-

" tution,

" tution, by ſecuring to the People the right
" of making laws, and granting taxes.—
" Anarchy will annihilate theſe very rights,
" if you do not place them under the
" guard of an active and vigorous Govern-
" ment; and deſpotiſm awaits you, if you
" do not prevent it by the tutelary protec-
" tion of the Royal Authority.

" I have collected all my ſtrength to ſpeak
" the auſtere language of truth to you. Par-
" don my zeal, and attribute to the love of
" my country, whatever appears too free in
" my remonſtrances, and be aſſured of my
" ardent wiſhes for your glory, as well as
" of my profound reſpect.

" (Signed)

" WILLIAM THOMAS RAYNAL."

The Aſſembly heard this letter read to the end; but it was often interrupted by violent murmurs and groſs inſults, ſometimes directed againſt the author, and ſometimes againſt *M. Malouet*, the ſimilarity of whoſe opinions with thoſe expreſſed in the letter raiſed a ſuſpicion of his having compoſed, or at leaſt ſuggeſted this vehement cenſure of the Revolution and of the whole conduct

conduct of the Aſſembly. The Preſident (*Bureau de Puzy*) was highly blamed for allowing it to be read, and it was propoſed that he ſhould be called to order; but he ſaid in his juſtification, that before he had given the letter to be read he had informed them that the Abbé *Raynal* did not ſpare the faults which he thought they had committed; and that he, the Preſident, thought himſelf the leſs authoriſed to withhold it, as the Abbé *Raynal* had announced his intention to print it. *Robeſpierre* attempted to prove, that this letter would produce upon the public an effect quite contrary to what was expected. "This Conſtitution then," ſaid he, "muſt be highly favourable to the "People, and very fatal to tyranny, ſince "ſuch extraordinary means are employed to "decry it. It is attacking Liberty to de- "nounce to the world as the crimes of "Frenchmen, theſe commotions, theſe "ſtruggles, which are ſo natural a criſis to "Liberty, that, without this criſis, deſpotiſm "and ſlavery would be incurable. We will "not reſign ourſelves to the alarms attempt- "ed to be raiſed. The Aſſembly have done "themſelves honour by hearing the letter

"read.

" read. It only remains for them to paſs, " with equal dignity, to the order of the " day." This motion, every ſentence of which was loudly applauded by the *Côté-Gauche*, was adopted, after a ſhort debate. But the public were not of *Robeſpierre's* opinion reſpecting the Abbé *Raynal's* letter. On the contrary, it made the greateſt impreſſion, and contributed not a little to increaſe the diſcredit of the Aſſembly.

M. de Montmorin, ſtill purſuing the execution of his plan, neglected nothing in order to turn all theſe circumſtances to the King's advantage. To this end he employed ſeveral private agents in the Sections and in the National Guard, under the direction of a Mr. M——, and they often made him pay very dear for doing nothing, under the title of *ſecret ſervices*. This is an almoſt unavoidable evil in every meaſure of this kind; but, when compelled to it, it ſhould be employed only for ſervices that may be proved, and which ſhould never be paid for till performed. The zeal of *M. Montmorin* was not confined to theſe obſcure and uncertain means. At this period he took a ſtep ſtill more energetic than any he had taken before,

fore, and its ſucceſs was as complete as he could wiſh. The following was the occaſion of it:

A journaliſt had inſerted in his paper * of the 31ſt of May, a pretended letter from Franckfort, containing the following paragraph:

"I have in my hands at this moment true copies of two counter-letters, ſent at the ſame time with the declaration to the Ambaſſadors, the effect of which they were meant to annul, and which they have entirely counteracted. It is ſtated, that for a ſhort time the King had ſubmitted to the laws of neceſſity; that it was requiſite to have recourſe to this expedient, in the firſt place, in order to ſecure his life, and in the next, to lull diſtruſt, and to ſeize the moment when it was laid aſleep to reſume thoſe meaſures of precaution recently diſconcerted. The meaning of the laſt words, which we collected from the ſame ſource, a few days ago, is this:—The excurſion to St. Cloud, which was prevented, was not to end at two

* The *Moniteur*, No. 151.

leagues from Paris, it was to have extended the following night to Compiegne, and thence to Bruſſels. A manifeſto was then to proclaim to Europe, that the King had juſt eſcaped from a long and painful captivity; that foreſeeing the evils which would reſult from his departure, to the faithful part of the Nation, when it ſhould be known by thoſe who miſlead the People, it was deferred, but it became neceſſary, as ſoon as the King found himſelf on the point of being forced to a kind of abjuration of the religion of his fathers, by receiving the communion, at a period which it obſerves the moſt ſolemnly, from a pretended paſtor whom the church did not acknowledge.

" At the ſame time the Pope's Brief was to have been profuſely diſtributed throughout all the Departments. The moſt extenſive hopes were placed upon the concurrence of Religious and Monarchical fanaticiſm, and upon the determination to be publiſhed by the different deſpots. Theſe details may be depended upon—they come from the Tuileries; twice have I ſeen the original letters. You may ſuppoſe that there are no

ſignatures to theſe miſſions, but I know that they come from one of the moſt active agents of a great Ariſtocratical perſonage, who has given him a conſiderable part in the direction of the Department reſerved for *diplomatic treaſon.*"

M. de Montmorin immediately denounced this article of the *Moniteur* to the Aſſembly in a letter conceived in theſe terms:

" Mr. Preſident, it would be a difficult taſk, and even an abſurd one, to attempt anſwering the calumnies daily ſpread in ſome of the journals with which we are deluged. The wiſeſt and certainly the eaſieſt way would be to leave theſe calumnies to the contempt which awaits them, when the calm, which their principal object is to keep at a diſtance, ſhall permit the appreciating of them according to their juſt value: but nevertheleſs, when thoſe calumnies are of a nature to alarm the whole Nation; when they tend to create ſuſpicions the moſt unjuſt and the moſt injurious, concerning the intentions of the Royal Family; when we

find them introduced into a journal which had not hitherto been confounded with thoſe which appeared to have no other end than that of agitating the People, miſleading them, and exciting them to exceſſes; when, I ſay, ſo many circumſtances are found united, it becomes my duty, as a ſervant of the Public, and as Miniſter to the King, to contradict, in the moſt public manner, what malice invents and ſpreads, and what miſtruſt is but too ready to receive in the preſent circumſtances. I think it then incumbent upon me to lay before the Aſſembly an article inſerted in the 151ſt Number of the *Moniteur*.

" The precaution taken by the editor to conceal the name of his correſpondent is a ſufficient proof of the calumny; but this reflection, obvious as it is, is not perhaps enough at this moment. I atteſt, therefore, on my reſponſibility, on my head, on my honour, that the project, which the writer of this article does not bluſh to aſcribe to the King, never exiſted. Alas! were the cares and the vigilance of his Majeſty known in every particular, they would be found of a very different nature.

" In

" In regard to the counter-letters, which ſeems to concern me perſonally, if I had been named by the *Moniteur*, and it depends on its author to name me, I would immediately have proſecuteed the printer. The author of the article ſhould be compelled to come forward, and I think that I ſhould give a proof of my reſpect for the liberty of the preſs, by demanding that he ſhould be puniſhed for defamation. It is time to conſider as enemies to the public thoſe, who, inceſſantly deceiving the people, in order to agitate them, create real dangers among us, by continually talking of fictitious ones.

" I am, &c.

" *P. S.* I have this inſtant, Mr. Preſident, laid this letter before the King, and his Majeſty not only permits, but has ordered me to ſend it to you, and to requeſt you to communicate it to the National Aſſembly."

This letter received repeated and loud applauſe. The Aſſembly ordered it to be printed, and inſerted in the journals. It was even propoſed by ſeveral, that the pub-

lic accuſer ſhould be ordered to proſecute the printer of the *Moniteur* to compel him to diſcover the author of the denounced article, and it was not till after a long debate that the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day.

The pretended letter from Frankfort had certainly no reference to the plan in which *M. de Montmorin* was engaged; but he would not, perhaps, have dared to contradict it in ſuch poſitive terms, if he had known the project for the King's departure to Montmedy; ſome of the circumſtances of which appear to touch near enough upon the plan announced in the letter of the *Moniteur*, to give grounds for preſuming that ſome indiſcretion had been committed. Be that as it may, *M. de Montmorin's* letter removed all ſuſpicions, becauſe he was known to be the Miniſter in whom the King placed moſt confidence.

The place of Miniſter of the Marine, vacant by the reſignation of *M. de Fleurieu*, was offered to me in the beginning of May. On my declining it, *M. Thevenard* was appointed on the 17th of the ſame month; and

and on the 28th *M. de Leſſart*, who was both Miniſter of the Interior and of Public Contributions, having reſigned the latter department, the King nominated to it *M. Tarbé*, firſt clerk of the Tax department.

If the King's intentions gave no more uneaſineſs, it was otherwiſe with thoſe of the Emigrants. Their immenſe number; their aſſembling; their motions upon the frontiers; their ſuppoſed plan of forming an army under the command of the Prince *de Condé*, and the attempts made to bring over to them ſome regiments of the French army, announced diſpoſitions the more alarming, as at that period ſeveral ſymptoms of inſurrection were manifeſted in the Interior, which were thought to have been excited by the emiſſaries of the Emigrants. Under theſe circumſtances the Aſſembly, on the addreſſes of a great many Departments and Municipalities, urging them to take prompt and efficacious meaſures for the ſafety of the Kingdom, took this important ſubject into conſideration, in the Sitting of the 11th of June, upon the report of five Commit-

tees united *. A debate first took place, on a motion for diſbanding all the Officers of the army; but it was rejected almoſt unanimouſly. A new oath more circumſtantial than the former was preſcribed for the Officers of every rank, under penalty of loſing their commiſſions; but the moſt remarkable articles in the decree which was paſſed related to the Prince of *Condé*. They ran thus:

" The National Aſſembly decree, that the " Preſident ſhall, in the courſe of the day, " wait upon the King, and requeſt him to " notify, with all poſſible diſpatch, to " *Louis-Joſeph-Bourbon-Condé*, that his " reſidence near the frontier of the King- " dom, ſurrounded by perſons whoſe inten- " tions were notoriouſly ſuſpected, an- " nounced guilty plans.

" That within fifteen days, to be reck- " oned from the day of the notification of " this declaration, *Louis-Joſeph-Bourbon-*

* The Committees of the Conſtitution, the Diplomatic and Military Committees, and thoſe of Reports and Inquiry.

" *Condé*

" *Condé* ſhould be held bound to return in-
" to the Kingdom, or to withdraw from
" the Frontiers; in the latter caſe, formally
" declaring that he would never undertake
" any thing againſt the Conſtitution
" decreed by the National Aſſembly, and
" accepted by the King, or againſt the
" tranquillity of the State; and in default
" of his returning into the Kingdom, or
" of his withdrawing, and making the
" above declaration, within fifteen days af-
" ter the notification, the National Aſſem-
" bly declare him a rebel, and that he for-
" feits all right to the Crown; and they
" decree, that all his property ſhall be ſe-
" queſtrated; that every French Citizen,
" without exception, ſhall be forbid-
" den all correſpondence and communica-
" tion with him or his accomplices and
" adherents, under penalty of being pro-
" ſecuted, and puniſhed as a traitor to his
" country; and in the caſe of his entering
" in arms upon the territory of France,
" they enjoin every Citizen to fall upon
" him and ſeize his perſon, as well as the
" perſons of his accomplices and adhe-
" rents; and they make him alſo reſpon-
" ſible

" ſible for all the hoſtile movements which
" may be directed againſt France upon the
" frontiers."

The Committees in their report had reckoned in the number of the principal cauſes which agitated the public mind in the Interior, the proteſts of the Biſhops, and of Clergymen removed from their ſees and benefices, and the mandates and paſtoral letters ſuſpending the Conſtitutional Prieſts. In fact, in ſupport of this denunciation, there was a criminal proſecution inſtituted at St. Germain-en-Laye againſt the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, and two letters produced, which he had written to two prieſts of his dioceſe to ſuſpend them from the exerciſe of their functions, and which he had notified to the churchwardens of the pariſhes where thoſe prieſts were eſtabliſhed. The Committee of Reports gave an account of this affair on the 18th of June, in the Evening Sitting, and concluded with propoſing, that the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault* ſhould be cited to declare, whether he was the author of the letter in queſtion or not. The Abbé *Maury* immediately aſcended the Tribune,

and

and ſtrove for a long time in vain to be heard. In the midſt of the tumult, and before the propoſed citation was put to the vote, the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault* roſe and ſaid, with his uſual candour and ſerenity: "I de-"clare, that I wrote the letters which you "have juſt heard, and I am perſuaded "that the copies which have been read "to you are conformable to the origi-"nal." Upon this declaration, the reporter propoſed, in the name of the Committee, to decree, that there were grounds for an impeachment of the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*.

The Duke *de Liancourt*, as a relation of the Cardinal's, was the firſt to ſpeak in his defence; but he did it with more zeal than dignity. He endeavoured to prove, by a compariſon of dates, that the inſtallation of the new Biſhops of *Rouen* and of *Verſailles* had taken place ſo few days before the letters of the Cardinal, that he might have been unacquainted with it at the time he had written, and he was authoriſed by the decrees to continue proviſionally his functions till he had notice of his being ſuſpended. The Abbé *Maury* and *M. de Cazalès*, who ſpoke after

after the Duke *de Liancourt*, diſdained this petty quirk. They did not think it ſufficient to prove that the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault* had committed an excuſable error; they maintained, that his conduct in this circumſtance had been dictated by his duty, and that there was no more in it than the exerciſe of the ſpiritual authority, of which the temporal power could not diveſt him, for it was not from the temporal power that he had received it. But the ſtrongeſt argument in favour of the Cardinal was the conſideration he had acquired from eighty years accumulation of virtues. What ſtupid effrontery, in fact, was it to dare to think, that a venerable Prelate, whom the Nation had been ſo long in the habit of reſpecting, could be conſidered as guilty of treaſon againſt it! and yet, nevertheleſs, the priority was granted to the motion offered by the Committee, and even the decree for impeachment appeared to be adopted by a conſiderable majority, and was pronounced by the Preſident; but upon the warm and perſevering remonſtrances of the members of the *Coté-Droit*, the votes were called over, and the reſult was, that there appeared

peared 286 votes againſt 271, in favour of a declaration that there were no grounds for impeaching the Cardinal *de la Rochefou-*

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CHAPTER XLI.

Departure of the King and Royal Family for Montmedy—Meaſures taken by the Aſſembly—Conduct of the Miniſters—M. de Montmorin beſieged in his Houſe by the Populace—Embarraſſment of M. de la Fayette—The Conſtitutional Party declare in his Favour—The Aſſembly, encouraged by the Teſtimonies of Submiſſion which they receive, aſſume a firm Countenance—Declaration written with the King's own Hand, and preſented to the Aſſembly by the Intendant of the Civil Liſt—M. de Rochambeau, M. d'Affry, and ſeveral Staff Officers of the Swiſs Guards preſent themſelves at the Bar, and promiſe Submiſſion and Fidelity to the Aſſembly—Addreſſes and Deputations on the Occaſion—The Aſſembly order Seals to

to be put on all the Houſes and Buildings dependent on the Civil Liſt—New Form of an Oath in which the King is not named—State of the Capital—Details relative to the King's Journey, and his Arreſt at Varennes—Decrees of the Aſſembly on this Occaſion—Exultation of the Factious—M. de la Fayette, at the Head of the National Guard, preſents himſelf at the Bar, followed by ſeveral thouſand Citizens of all Claſſes; they are all admitted to take the new Oath.

THE Marquis *de Bouillé*, having been informed by the King himſelf that the day of his Majeſty's departure for Montmedy was finally fixed for the 19th of June, between midnight and one in the morning, had in conſequence prepared all the meaſures neceſſary to enſure the eſcape of the Royal Family. Several detachments of troops, which were to be ſtationed upon the road from Chalons to Montmedy, were already upon their march to their reſpective poſts, when another letter from the King, received by *M. de Bouillé* on the 15th of June, informed him that their Majeſties' departure

was

was put off for four-and-twenty hours; and that the Marquis *d'Agoult*, who was to have had a ſeat in their coach, could not accompany them on their journey, becauſe *Madame de Tourzel*, Governeſs to the Children of France, was not willing to give up her right of accompanying them.

This delay, which kept the detachments at their different poſts four-and-twenty hours longer than was intended, was the more vexatious, as it could not but augment the ſuſpicions which had been manifeſted, and particularly in the ſmall town of Clermont in Argonne, on the arrival of two ſquadrons which had been ſtationed there. Nor did it decreaſe *M. de Bouillé*'s anxiety to hear that the Marquis *d'Agoult*, in whoſe attachment, intrepidity and energy, he had placed great confidence, was not to accompany the King. It would ſurely have been eaſy to convince *Madame de Tourzel*, that however laudable her motives were, the danger to which her claim would expoſe the King and Royal Family, if admitted, ſhould prevent her inſiſting upon it. The cauſe of the delay of the journey to Montmedy might as eaſily have been avoided. In fact, it is known

that

that their Majeſties only deferred their departure till a chamber-maid, whoſe fidelity they ſuſpected, had finiſhed her week. It would have been better to have diſcharged her a month before. If that ſtep, from which no inconvenience could have ariſen, appeared too ſevere, ſome means could eaſily have been found to have ſent her out of the way on the 19th of June, without any ſuſpicion of the motive: ſome confidential commiſſion, with which ſhe would have been flattered, might have been given to her that day. But unhappily it is not upon a throne that the neceſſity of precautions is learned, nor of courſe the nicety and attention required in the minuteſt of them when they may concur in the ſucceſs of a delicate enterpriſe. The long habit which Kings are in of ſeeing things ſucceed according to their wiſhes, without conſidering the means of execution, leads them to view all with the ſame eye. Hence that fatal ſecurity, that kind of careleſſneſs with which *Louis XVI.* was charged, and which has ſo often made his moſt faithful ſervants deſpair.

On the night between the 20th and 21ſt of June their Majeſties ſeparately left the Palace of the Tuilleries, paſſing through the

Duke *de Villequiers'* apartments between twelve and one o'clock. The Queen and *Madame Elizabeth*, as they entered the *Carouzel*, ſaw *M. de la Fayette* crofſing the ſquare. Two common coaches waited for the Royal Family upon the Quay of the Theatins. Their Majeſties walked to the place, left Paris without any obſtacle, and took the road to Montmedy by Chalons on the Marne. MONSIEUR and MADAME ſet out an hour afterwards from the Palace of the Luxembourg, and took the road of Valenciennes.

On the 21ſt of June, at the opening of the Sitting, the Preſident announced to the Aſſembly, with an air of the deepeſt conſternation, that *M. Bailly* had juſt informed him that the King and a part of the Royal Family had been carried off in the night by the enemies of the public. At this unexpected news the dead ſilence of ſtupor reigned throughout the Hall, and laſted for ſome time. The different parties, all equally fearing to be the firſt to manifeſt the impreſſion which this event made upon them, ſtared round, endeavouring to penetrate into one another's thoughts. Silence was at length broken by *Regnaut de St. Jean d'Angely*,

a Deputy

a Deputy of the *Tiers-Etat*, of middling talents, but a Member of the *Coté-Gauche*, and conſequently ſiding with the Conſtitutional Party and that of the Jacobins. He firſt ſpoke of the courage, coolneſs, and tranquillity which the Aſſembly muſt diſplay to ſave the empire on this occaſion, as they had ſaved it by the ſame means two years ago, after the Royal Sitting of the 23d of June. He then propoſed to order the Miniſter of the Interior to diſpatch couriers immediately into all the departments, with an order to all public functionaries, national guards, and troops of the line, to arreſt, or cauſe to be arreſted, every perſon leaving the Kingdom, as well as all effects, arms, ammunition, horſes, carriages, gold and ſilver coin, &c. &c.: and in caſe the couriers ſhould overtake the King, or any of the Royal Family, or thoſe concerned in carrying them off, the ſaid public functionaries, national guards, and troops of the line ſhould be directed to take the prompteſt meaſures to prevent the King and Royal Family from continuing their journey.

This motion was decreed by acclamation. Several others were afterwards made at once, and produced ſome moments of tumult,

notwithſtanding the repeated efforts of the Preſident, and moſt of the ſpeakers, to recall the Aſſembly to the dignity and ſerenity which they had ſhown after the Royal Sitting of the 23d of June 1789. At this moment a numerous mob was ſaid to be coming from the *Pont-Royal* towards the Aſſembly, with an intention to enter into the Hall. *Camus*, frightened, repreſented that the moſt urgent concern was to ſecure the tranquillity of the deliberations of the Aſſembly; and moved, that the firſt thing done ſhould be to order the Commanders of the public force inſtantly to employ a ſufficient guard to prevent any perſons whatever, except the Deputies, from entering the Hall. This motion was much applauded, and unanimouſly adopted. *Chapelier* then propoſed, that the Members of the department of Paris and the Municipal Officers ſhould be ordered to inform the citizens, by a general proclamation, that the Aſſembly were going to proceed with the greateſt diſpatch, and without breaking up, to ſecure order throughout the Empire, ſo that it might not be diſturbed by the King's departure. This motion was alſo decreed; and before ten o'clock in the

the morning the proclamation of the Municipality was ſtuck up in all the ſtreets.

Camus moved, that the Miniſters ſhould be ſent for to the Aſſembly; and *Charles de Lameth*, that *M. de Rochambeau*, Commander in Flanders, ſhould receive orders to ſet off immediately for that frontier, as it was the moſt expoſed. A third Member propoſed, that the Aſſembly ſhould give immediate orders that the heavieſt artillery of Paris ſhould be fired off every ten minutes as ſignals of alarm; and that the couriers who were going to ſet out ſhould carry orders on their road for firing at ſtated diſtances a ſimilar alarm. This motion was at firſt very much applauded; but the fear of the effects which ſo general an alarm might occaſion, cauſed the meaſure to be rejected. Fear at firſt had evidently ſeized the majority of the Members of the *Coté-Gauche:* it was not ſo with thoſe of the *Coté-Droit*. Their ſeriouſneſs and ſilence ſhowed that they were uneaſy as to the iſſue of this criſis; but a ray of hope was alſo ſeen to pierce through that uneaſineſs.

An Aid-de-Camp of *M. de la Fayette*'s (*M. de Romeuf*) preſented himſelf at the bar, and ſtated, that having received an order

from the General, which enjoined him to ſet off immediately to inform all good citizens that the King had been carried off by the enemies of the public, and to order them to uſe every means to oppoſe his departure; he was going to execute this order, but the workmen employed at the foot of the *Pont Louis XVI.* had pulled him off his horſe, and had treated him very ill, and that they had uſed in the ſame manner one of his comrades who was ſtill in their hands, and for whom he implored the protection of the Aſſembly. The Preſident was authoriſed to add to the order given by *M. de la Fayette* to *M. Romeuf*, a particular order from the Aſſembly, and to ſend two of their Members with a tipſtaff to reſcue the Officer who had been ſtopped, and to enable him to continue his journey. At the ſame moment it was announced, that *M. de la Fayette* was arreſted by the people at the *Grève;* and the Preſident was authoriſed by acclamation to ſend ſix Commiſſioners to reſcue and bring him to the Aſſembly. "I beg the National Aſ-" ſembly," ſaid *Rewbell*, "to preſerve the "courage which they have always ſhown. "*M. de la Fayette* will ſhortly be here. I "beg the Preſident to aſk him whether for

"ſeveral

" ſeveral weeks paſt the Officers on guard " had not received an order not to let the " King go out after midnight. An Officer " who ſays he was on guard declares, that " he had received that order. It was cer- " tainly founded on ſomething; and it is " right to know upon what." The ſpeaker, interrupted by violent murmurs from the *Coté-Gauche*, began to anſwer the interruption thus: " I think, Gentlemen, you are " afraid:"—but new murmurs prevented his continuing. *Barnave* then ſpoke, and repreſented that it was of the utmoſt moment to attach popular confidence to thoſe who deſerved it, in order to have a centre of execution, and to put the public force in a ſtate to act. He extolled the patriotiſm of *M. de la Fayette*, who, he ſaid, deſerved and ought to have every confidence. He removed the ſuſpicions which *Rewbell's* motion might have created; and concluded with moving, that the citizens ſhould be ordered to keep themſelves armed, but to wait perfectly ſilent and motionleſs till the Repreſentatives of the Nation ſhould have occaſion to call them into action, and ſhould impreſs upon them that which they ſhould follow. This motion was generally ap-

plauded. It was ſcarcely decreed, when they heard that *M. de Cazales* was arreſted by the people, and that his life was in danger. The Aſſembly ſhowed the ſame concern for him as they had done for *M. de la Fayette*; ſix Commiſſioners were immediately ſent to deliver him. Their number would have been much more conſiderable if the Preſident had named all who requeſted to go.

The Miniſters of Juſtice, of the Interior, of War, of the Marine, and of the Public Contributions, appeared ſucceſſively at the bar, and were introduced into the middle of the Hall. Before they were heard the Aſſembly proceeded, on the motion of *Chapelier*, to draw up into form the different motions already admitted, and paſſed the following decree:

"The National Aſſembly declare to the "citizens of Paris, and to all the inhabitants "of the Empire, that the ſame firmneſs "which they have ſhewn in the midſt of "all the difficulties which have accompa-"nied their labours, ſhall direct their deli-"berations on the occaſion of the carrying "off of the King and Royal Family; they "inform all the citizens, that the main-

"tenance

" tenance of the Conſtitution and ſafety of " the Empire never more imperiouſly re- " quired good order and public tranquillity; " that the National Aſſembly have taken " the moſt active meaſures to diſcover thoſe " who have been guilty of carrying off the " King and Royal Family; that they ſhall, " without interruption in their Sittings, em- " ploy every meaſure for preventing the " public from ſuffering by this event. That " all the citizens ought entirely to leave to " them the cares which the ſafety of the " Empire requires: and that whatever may " excite diſturbances, alarm individuals, or " menace property, will be the more guilty, " as by ſuch proceedings liberty and the " conſtitution would be endangered.

" They ordain, that the citizens of Paris " ſhould hold themſelves in readineſs to act " for the maintenance of public order, and " the defence of the country, according to " the orders which ſhall be given them " purſuant to the decrees of the National " Aſſembly.

" They ordain, that the Magiſtrates of " the Department, and the Municipal Of- " ficers, ſhould immediately cauſe this decree " to be publiſhed, and that they attend to

" the

" the preſervation of the public tran-
" quillity."

M. de Leſſart, whoſe part it was, as Mi-
niſter of the Interior, to cauſe this decree and
all thoſe already paſſed to be promulgated,
obtained leave to ſpeak, and requeſted the
Aſſembly to join two of their Members with
him, that he might concert with them the
meaſures which the execution of the decrees
might require: but the impoſſibility of re-
conciling reſponſibility with inviolability
cauſed this requeſt to be rejected.

The Miniſter of Juſtice ſolicited a deciſion
to authoriſe him to ſeal the decrees: for,
having received the Seal from the King's
hands without any interference of the Aſ-
ſembly, nothing now but an act of the ſove-
reign will of the Nation could authoriſe him
to affix the Seal without the King's conſent,
and indeed contrary to his orders: " For,"
added he, " *M. de la Porte* ſhewed me this
" morning a memorial written with the
" King's own hand, concluding with a
" poſtſcript, in which his Majeſty forbids
" his Miniſters to ſign any order in his
" name before they receive farther direc-
" tions from him; and in which he enjoins
" me

" me to ſend him the State Seal when re-
" quired on his part."

The Aſſembly deliberating on this requeſt, and upon the different motions which it ſuggeſted, decreed, that proviſionally, and until it ſhould be otherwiſe ordained, their decrees ſhould be put in execution by the Miniſters; that the Miniſter of Juſtice is enjoined to ſign them and affix the State Seal to them; that there ſhall be no occaſion for the King's ſanction or acceptance; and that the ſaid decree ſhall preſerve the title of law.

This deliberation was interrupted by the reading of a letter written by *M. de Montmorin* to the Miniſter of Juſtice, to let him know that he was blocked up in his own houſe by the People. The Aſſembly immediately charged their Preſident to give the neceſſary orders that *M. de Montmorin* might come in ſafety to join his colleagues, whom they authoriſed to aſſemble in the Hotel of the State Seal (the Chancery), to deliberate, and to ſign proclamations, and all other acts of adminiſtration. They decreed at the ſame time, that *M. de la Porte* ſhould be immediately ordered to attend at the bar, to acquaint the Aſſembly with the memorial left by the King.

At that moment *M. Bailly* and *M. de la Fayette*, who had been long impatiently expected, entered the Aſſembly. *M. de la Fayette* going to place himſelf by the ſide of *Camus*, received a croſs brutal reception from him. "Let us have no regimentals here," ſaid he, riſing with fury; "we ought to ſee "no regimentals in this Aſſembly." This ſavage inſult could not be very encouraging to *M. de la Fayette*, who, and with reaſon, was not yet much at eaſe. Several of his friends riſing together went and ſat by him, murmuring violently againſt *Camus*; who, far from being diſconcerted by it, maintained that *M. de la Fayette* ought only to be conſidered as Commander of the National Guard. "He only attends here," added he, "to give us an account of his conduct." The cries ſeveral times repeated of, *To the Bar! To the Bar!* ſupported this obſervation; and notwithſtanding the civil explanation of the Preſident, who endeavoured to prove to *Camus*, that the decree which forbade deliberating in regimentals was not applicable to the preſent circumſtances, *M. de la Fayette* went, as well as *M. Bailly*, and ſat with the Miniſters on chairs placed before the bar.

Adrien

Adrien Duport then roſe to ſpeak in the name of the Commiſſion ſent to the Municipality, and reported, that they had remarked in the People, in the midſt of the profound grief painted on all countenances, and which was the neceſſary reſult of circumſtances, a diſpoſition to peace and union, and a full and entire confidence in the National Aſſembly. "We did not find," added he, "the public "tranquillity diſturbed by any cry, by any "wrangling. We perſonally received in our "way, as Members of the National Aſſembly, multiplied teſtimonies of reſpect and "confidence. We think we can aſſure "you, that you may with ſecurity take "the meaſures that your patriotiſm and your "prudence ſhall ſuggeſt, and that you may "depend upon being ſeconded by the cou-"rage and zeal of all the citizens. On no "occaſion perhaps have they ſhown a greater "attachment to the Aſſembly."

This report was confirmed by the meſſages which the Preſident every minute received from the different ſections of Paris, and by the teſtimonies of confidence and ſubmiſſion given by their Deputations to the Committee appointed to receive them. Thus the Aſſembly, having their fears of the dangers in which

which ſo ſerious a criſis might have involved them fully removed, beheld without dread the height at which they found themſelves placed; and from that moment maintained themſelves there in an attitude truly noble and commanding.

When *Adrien Duport* had finiſhed his ſpeech, *M. de la Fayette* moved, that the National Aſſembly ſhould admit to their bar the Officer of the National Guard charged with the guard at the Tuileries the preceding night, and hear his account of ſome circumſtances relative to the great crime which had been committed. "I take upon "myſelf alone," added he, "all the re- "ſponſibility of an Officer, whoſe zeal and "patriotiſm are as well known to me as my "own. Permit me alſo to ſay, that the "diſpoſitions ſhown by the National Guard "are to me the greateſt proof that the "French People are worthy of liberty, and "that nothing can deprive them of it*."

* Poor *M. de la Fayette* had not yet very clear ideas of liberty, and was no better judge of people worthy of it. Experience muſt have taught him, that a Nation never returns from licentiouſneſs to liberty, without paſſing through deſpotiſm; and that paſſage may be a long one.

The

The Officer (*M. de Gouvion*) introduced at the bar reported, that on Saturday the 11th of June, Whitſun-eve, a Commander of a battalion of the National Guard came to him and informed him, that there were appearances in the Palace of the Tuileries which indicated an intention in the Queen to go away, and to take with her the *Dauphin* and *Madame Royale*, and he ſaid that he received this information from a confidential perſon, a lady, whom he named; that the following day this Commander introduced him to that perſon, who ſaid there was a gallery communicating with the apartment formerly *M. de Villequiers'*, through which it was the Queen's intention to eſcape, and that double keys to the doors of that apartment were already made. "We "went," continued he, "and gave an ac- "count of this to the Commander-in "Chief, who ordered us to redouble our "vigilance. Under different pretences I "kept at my houſe twenty Officers of the "National Guard, who were charged to "walk all night in the courts and in the "garden. The four following days our in- "formation was confirmed to me with more "circumſtantial particulars. The King had

"never

"never been mentioned to me on this occa-
"ſion, but only the Queen and the Dauphin.
"I can prove that I had always five Officers
"of the National Guard, who were parti-
"cularly charged to watch *M. de Ville-*
"*quier's* door, which I was told was that
"through which the Queen was to paſs.—
"On Friday, the brother of the perſon who
"had given us the information, came to
"my houſe and confirmed every particular.
"I told him that I had promiſed his ſiſter
"to be ſecret, and I begged him to entreat
"her to abſolve me from my promiſe, that
"I might communicate the circumſtance to
"the Mayor, that he might take the neceſſary
"precautions. I did not ſee this lady after-
"wards. On Saturday evening, a Volunteer
"Grenadier of the National Guard came to
"my houſe, and told me that he had juſt left
"the Committee of Inquiry, where he had
"made a declaration to *M. de Sillery*, and
"which I found was word for word what
"I had been told. I went the following
"day to *M. de la Fayette's* and to the
"Mayor's, to communicate to them the de-
"nunciation which had been made to the
"Committee of Inquiry, and according to
"which, probably the Committee will give
"them

" them orders. Yeſterday morning, the
" uneaſineſs increaſing, I went to the
" Mayor's houſe; he had aſſembled the
" Officers of the Court of the Palace. I
" entreated him to ſend two of thoſe Gen-
" tlemen to the Committee of Inquiry, to
" tell them that I was ſure that on laſt
" Saturday they had received this denun-
" ciation, and that I thought they would
" have communicated the ſame to the
" Mayor and the Commander-in-Chief.—
" But theſe Gentlemen did not find any
" body at the Chamber of the Committee
" of Inquiry at that hour, nor when they
" went again at nine or ten o'clock in the
" evening. About eleven o'clock I received
" freſh information reſpecting this eſcape,
" and I charged a confidential perſon to
" communicate to the Mayor the note
" which contained it. He ſent for the
" Commander-in-Chief, who ſtationed me
" at the Tuileries. There, in his pre-
" ſence, I gave orders that all the gates and
" doors ſhould be carefully kept ſhut, ex-
" cept the door of the Princes' Court.—
" Two Colonels, a Captain, an Adjutant,
" and an Officer of a company of the Centre
" were all night in the court of the Palace

" and at the door by which the eſcape was " to be made. It was not till this morning " that I learned, from the ſame perſon who " had given me the information, the news " of the departure. She told me that they " had gone through the door mentioned. I " anſwered, that it was impoſſible, be- " cauſe all the Guard could certify that dur- " ing the whole night it had been guarded " by five Officers, of whom I made " one."

After hearing this recital, which *M. Bailly* confirmed without adding any thing to it, the Aſſembly approved of a reſolution which the Directory of the Department had taken, and by which they enjoined the Municipality of Paris immediately to affix ſeals on the apartments of the Tuileries and Luxembourg; to examine if any ſecret outlets had been contrived at the Tuileries; to keep in confinement till further order, and interrogate, the perſons reſiding in the Palace, and to prevent any perſons from leaving Paris that day.

M. de Montmorin at laſt arrived, and having taken his place, ſaid, that he came in conſequence of the orders of the Aſſembly, that he had nothing to inform

them of; that he could only aſſure them of his deep affliction. The Preſident invited him to join the other Miniſters, to concert with them the meaſures to be taken in the preſent circumſtances, and to ſee to the execution of the decrees which the Aſſembly had juſt paſſed to ſecure the tranquillity of the Kingdom.

Count *d'Affri* appeared at the ſame time at the bar, accompanied by five or ſix Staff Officers belonging to the Swiſs Guards.—He ſpoke ſome ſentences, which the weakneſs of his voice prevented from being heard, and which the Preſident repeated in the following terms: "*M. d'Affri*, whoſe "long ſervices, and great age, prevent him "from making himſelf eaſily heard in the "different parts of the Hall, has juſt ex-"preſſed to the National Aſſembly his fide-"lity towards the Nation. He alſo anſwers "for the fidelity of his Staff, whoſe pa-"triotiſm may be relied upon. He declares "that he will obey only the orders of the "Aſſembly; that he looks upon himſelf "not as a Foreigner, but as a French Of-"ficer; and that he ſhall think it his duty "to die for the country. He alſo entreats, "that, conſidering his great age, he may be

" ſucceeded by the Officer next to him in " rank, and whoſe ſentiments are the ſame " as his." General and repeated applauſes teſtified the ſatisfaction of the Aſſembly at theſe encouraging aſſurances.

After a few minutes more ſpent in motions of little importance, the Preſident obſerved, that if no perſon had any propoſal to make relative to the preſent circumſtances, the Aſſembly would perhaps think proper to paſs to the order of the day, till the Committees were ready to make a report on the different objects which had been referred to them. There was a dignity in this conduct. The Aſſembly were ſenſible of it, and did not heſitate to adopt it. They decreed an article of the penal code, and the reporter was proceeding to the next, when *M. de la Porte* was announced. He was introduced to the bar, and ſaid:

" This morning at eight o'clock, a ſer- " vant belonging to the apartments of the " King's chief Valet-de-Chambre delivered " a packet to me, which I opened, and found " a note from his Majeſty, and a memorial " written with his own hand, of which " I read only the firſt and laſt page.—

" I im-

" I immediately went to the Keeper of the
" Seal, to communicate theſe papers to him,
" and afterwards to the Preſident, whom I
" did not find at home."

It was then propoſed that the note and the memorial ſhould be read; but *M. de la Porte* expreſſing a deſire that the note, which was addreſſed individually to himſelf, might not be publicly read, the Aſſembly complied with his requeſt, and it was returned to him. The memorial was given to one of the Secretaries, who read it *. When finiſhed, *Barnave* obſerved, that this memorial was of too much importance to be depoſited in the hands of any member of the Aſſembly, or even in thoſe of a Committee, before the character of the paper was aſcertained. He moved in conſequence, that in the firſt place *M. de la Porte* ſhould ſign a declaration atteſting the manner in which he had received this memorial, and the depoſit he had made of it; and that the ſignature of the Preſident, or of a Secretary, ſhould be affixed to each ſheet to prove its authenticity. He alſo propoſed,

* See Appendix, No. xvii.

that all the Military Commanders in Paris ſhould be ordered that day to the bar, to take their oaths of obedience to the Aſſembly, and receive their orders. The Aſſembly referred this ſecond propoſition to the Military Committee, decreed the former motion, and ſuſpended buſineſs for one hour. It was then four o'clock in the afternoon.

On reſuming buſineſs, it was reported to the Aſſembly that the Ambaſſadors from Foreign Powers manifeſted ſome uneaſineſs. After ſome debates concerning what ought to be done in this reſpect, the following Decree was adopted:

"The National Aſſembly (the King being abſent) order the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to acquaint the Ambaſſadors from Foreign Powers reſident at Paris, and alſo the Ambaſſadors of France reſiding at Foreign Courts, with the intention of the French Nation to continue with the reſpective Courts and States that correſpondence of amity and good underſtanding which has hitherto exiſted; and to inform the Foreign Miniſters, that they are to ſend to him the official notes

"with

" with which they may be commiſſioned by " their Courts."

Charles de Lameth, in this debate, obſerved with juſtice, that they could ſpeak no longer of the King's being carried off, after having heard his memorial; but he added, with his uſual inſolence, that they ought to uſe the word *flight*, inſtead of the expreſſion *carried off*—as if the multiplied outrages which had reduced *Louis XVI.* to that fatal extremity had not already rendered the Aſſembly ſufficiently guilty; or as if they wanted to have recourſe to that further crime to ſtrengthen their popularity.

The deliberation relative to the Decree I have reported being concluded, the Committee of Finances preſented the account demanded from them relative to the ſtate of the Public Treaſury, and of the funds for extraordinary expences (*Caiſſe de l'Extraordinaire*). This report was followed by the reading of a Reſolution of the Section of the *Croix rouge*, in which *they declared their reſpect and their fidelity to the Aſſembly, and promiſed obedience to all the Decrees, whether ſanctioned or not, and not-*

withſtanding the King's Memorial. The Aſſembly, after manifeſting, by the livelieſt applauſe, the joy this Reſolution gave them, proudly paſſed again to the order of the day, and decreed two new articles of the penal code.

M. de Rochambeau now appeared at the bar, and repeated the ſame aſſurances of zeal, fidelity, and entire ſubmiſſion that the Section of the *Croix rouge* had given in their Reſolution, and obtained the ſame applauſes. His example was immediately followed by almoſt all the General Officers and Colonels in commiſſion, who were members of the *Coté-Gauche* of the Aſſembly, and ſuggeſted the idea of drawing up a new form of an oath ſuitable to the occaſion, to be ſent to the Army, after all the Deputies holding military commiſſions ſhould have taken it. This propoſal was unanimouſly decreed by the members of the *Coté-Gauche:* thoſe of the *Coté-Droit* took no part in the determination. The Military Committee were charged to draw up and preſent, during the preſent Sitting, the new form of the oath. While they were employed upon it, the Deputies of the Department of the Diſtrict,

Diſtrict and of the Municipality of Verſailles were introduced to the bar, and delivered the following addreſs:

"The King's departure is a painful event "to all Frenchmen; but if the King has "abandoned his poſt the National Aſſem- "bly will have the courage to preſerve "theirs. The Department of the Seine and "Oiſe, the Diſtrict, the Courts of Juſtice, "and the Deputies of the Sections of the "Town, having aſſembled in the Town- "Houſe of Verſailles, and being all of one "opinion, unanimouſly reſolved, that four "Deputies ſhould inſtantly repair to the "National Aſſembly, to teſtify to them the "confidence which is their due, and at this "moment neceſſary, and to aſſure them "that they conſider the Conſtituent Body "as the centre around which all French- "men will rally, and who, faithful to their "oath, will make every ſacrifice to main- "tain the Conſtitution of the Kingdom."

This addreſs, worthy the infamous conduct of this diſloyal Town ſince the commencement of the Revolution, was moſt favourably received in the Aſſembly. They ordered

ordered it to be printed, and inſerted in the minutes, firmly perſuaded that all the other Departments would haſten to follow the example of that of Verſailles.

To confirm the confidence and ſecurity of the Aſſembly, *Alexander de Lameth* propoſed, in the name of the Military and Conſtitutional Committees, a plan for a Decree tending to prepare for ſervice all the National Guards throughout the Kingdom, and to form of them an army of three or four hundred thouſand men, at the diſpoſal of the Nation. This Decree was unanimouſly adopted.

Although the Sitting continued the buſineſs of the Aſſembly was ſuſpended for a ſhort time, at ten o'clock at night, at midnight, and at five o'clock in the morning, a great number of the members always remaining in the Hall. The ſubjects on which they were engaged during the night were of no great importance; but in the continuation of this Sitting next day, (Thurſday 22d June,) the reading of a letter from the French Envoy at Mentz, dated the 15th of June, occaſioned great uneaſineſs. It gave an account of the entertainments given to the Count *d'Artois*, of the frequent conferences he held with the

Prince

Prince *de Condé*; of the great concourſe of Emigrants, and particularly Officers; of the arrival of almoſt all the *Gardes-du-Corps*; of the aſſembling of the Magiſtrates of the different Parliaments; of their Committees, &c. &c.

M. Freteau, who was the informer and reader of this letter, ſaid that it but too well juſtified the different meaſures which the Aſſembly had taken; that it was of great importance to accelerate their execution, and more eſpecially to haſten the departure of *M. de Rochambeau*.

Scarcely was this letter read, when a Deputation from the new Court which had been ſubſtituted for the King's Privy Council (*Tribunal de Caſſation*) were introduced to the bar. The harangue pronounced by the ſpeaker of this Deputation (*Garan de Coulon*,) and the anſwer of the Preſident (*Alexander de Beauharnois*,) were worthy of each other, and too characteriſtic of thoſe two perſons, and of the minds of the majority of the Aſſembly, not to be made known. The following then was the ſpeech of *Garan de Coulon*:

" Gentlemen, being eſſentially attached to

" the

" the National Aſſembly by the law of our
" eſtabliſhment, we come in this new form,
" which, like all the others, will ſerve but
" to haſten the progreſs of the Conſtitution,
" of Liberty, and the Public Happineſs;
" we come to declare to you our ſubmiſſion
" to your Decrees, and to renew the oath of
" fidelity *to the Nation*, and *to the Law*;
" to the Nation, of whom you are the
" worthy Repreſentatives; and to the Law,
" which preſerves all its force and purity,
" as it does not ceaſe to be the expreſſion of
" the general will."

The Preſident's anſwer was:

" The National Aſſembly have already
" received teſtimonies of fidelity from ſeve-
" ral Departments of the Kingdom. The
" wiſh of the People is manifeſt; order is
" maintained in the Capital; every thing
" combines to aſſure the friends of Liberty
" that their work ſhall be reſpected, and
" that the great event by which its enemies
" have attempted in vain to ſhake it, will
" only ſerve to prove to the whole world,
" that Frenchmen once free, in conſequence
" of their wiſh, of their energy, and

of

" of the enlightened ſtate of the age, will " periſh to the laſt man rather than reſign " their freedom. The Aſſembly, gratified " with your attention, invite you to the " ſitting."

The ſpeech and the anſwer were loudly and repeatedly applauded, and ordered to be printed. How could the Aſſembly hear, without calling the ſpeaker to order, a new form of a civic oath, in which the promiſe of being faithful to the King was omitted? How was it that they were not ſenſible that, by receiving ſo criminal an homage with ſuch delight, they rendered themſelves ſtill more guilty than the villain who offered it?

Till the Committees were ready to preſent ſome of the reports with which they had been charged, relative to the ſituation of things, the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day, and ordained ſeveral decrees concerning the new organization of the navy, the military works of Havre-de-Grace, the fortifications of Cherburg, and the execution of the tariff of the duties on colonial merchandiſe. The Military Committee then propoſed the new form for the oath which they had been charged to draw up, and moved, that Com-

Commiſſioners, choſen from the Aſſembly, ſhould be ſent to the frontier departments, to adminiſter the oath, make minutes of it, and concert with the Adminiſtrative Bodies and the Commanders of the troops, ſuch meaſures as they ſhould think proper for the maintenance of public order and the ſafety of the State.

The new oath was conceived in theſe terms:

"I ſwear to employ the arms put into my "hands for the defence of the country, "and to maintain, againſt all enemies at "home and abroad, the Conſtitution de- "creed by the National Aſſembly; to die "rather than ſuffer the invaſion of the "French territory by foreign troops; and "to obey ſuch orders only as may be given "in conſequence of the decrees of the Na- "tional Aſſembly."

The Committee joined to this form a liſt of the members of the Aſſembly whom they propoſed to name as Commiſſioners to the different Departments. All theſe articles were decreed unanimouſly, and with the warmeſt enthuſiaſm. The Preſident having read

read the form of the oath, the members of the Aſſembly who held military offices crowded to the Tribune in order to take it. Some members of the *Coté-Droit*, and particularly *M. de Juigné* and *M. de Luzignan*, attempted to propoſe ſome reſtrictions, and mentioned the King; but they were not permitted to go on. "I declare," ſaid the Preſident to them, "that I will not ſuffer "any one to ſpeak till after all thoſe who, "having heard the form, are willing to ſwear "it pure and ſimply."

The Aſſembly then decreed that the Directories of the Departments, the Diſtricts, and the Municipalities, in whoſe boundaries the houſes and buildings compriſed in the Civil Liſt were ſituated, ſhould immediately cauſe ſeals to be affixed on them, ſhould take into their hands the management of the domains and other eſtates compriſed in the Civil Liſt, and ſhould ſuperintend the woods and foreſts appertaining to them, till a law relative to the foreſts ſhould be paſſed. It is ſomething extraordinary that not any oppoſition whatever was made to this abominable decree, by which the Aſſembly took into their own hands all the Royal houſes and domains appendant, to puniſh the King

King for attempting to eſcape the freſh outrages reſerved for him by the Factious.

Nothing more that was remarkable paſſed at this Sitting, which laſted till ten o'clock at night, except the reading of the addreſs meant to ſerve as an anſwer to the King's Declaration*. This paper, in which the Aſſembly for the firſt time dared to take formally the title of the *Conſtituent Aſſembly*, was alſo adopted with great applauſe, notwithſtanding the inſolence, the perfidy, and the notorious inſincerity which dictated every ſentence of it.

The boldneſs manifeſted by the Aſſembly made no great progreſs out of doors during the two firſt days. Paris was calm, but it was the calm of ſtupor. The inhabitants ſtopped one another in the ſtreets, and mutually put queſtions with uneaſineſs. The battalions and a part of the people were under arms, and ſeemed to be looking for an enemy. All the ſhops, all places of public amuſement, were ſhut. The travelling of the public carriages was forbidden. Placards from the Department, the Council-General of the Commune, and the Munici-

* See Appendix, No. xviii.

pality, were renewed every inſtant to urge the neceſſity of tranquillity. "What is to become of us?" it was ſaid. "Why, inſtead of making France happy by wiſe and gradual reforms, have we been ſo inconſiderately thrown into theſe new ſyſtems, which have made a diviſion between the Nation and the King, and among all the orders of ſociety?"—"We ſhall have a Republic," anſwered the agents of the Factious; and to prepare the public mind for it, ſome hired brigands ran through the ſtreets, ſmearing all the arms, effigies, and names of the King and Queen, and of the Princes, and every where effacing the Crowns and Fleurs-de-Lis.

In the mean time the Royal Family arrived at Bondi without accident, and, quitting the two carriages in which they had left Paris, they all got into that which the Count *de Ferſen* had been commiſſioned to get made. Poſt-horſes were put to it, and their Majeſties took the road to *Chalons ſur Marne*, having but one coach in their ſuite, and three *Gardes-du-Corps* dreſſed as Couriers. At the diſtance of twelve poſts from Paris, owing to ſome repair that was neceſſary to the coach or harneſs, their Majeſties

were detained near two hours at the ſmall town of Montmirail. This delay was the more fatal, as the King did not think of ſending notice of it to the next poſt where he was expected, and as, notwithſtanding the advice of *M. de Bouillé*, his Majeſty had alſo neglected the important precaution of diſpatching a Courier ſome hours before him to inform him of his departure. It was about half paſt three o'clock when the Royal Family arrived at Chalons. Here the Poſt-Maſter knew the King, who, during the journey, was too forgetful of the riſk he ran by ſhewing himſelf. No ill conſequence reſulted from this at Chalons, as the Poſt-Maſter proved to be a worthy man, and was ſilent.

The King when he left Chalons thought he had no further danger to apprehend, as he expected to find on his road all the way to Montmedy the numerous detachments that were to be ſtationed there by *M. de Bouillé*; but unhappily the two Officers who commanded at Pont-Somevelle, the next poſt, and who had calculated that he muſt arrive there by four o'clock at the lateſt, not ſeeing the King, nor the Courier, who they expected would come ſome hours before the Royal

Royal Family, concluded that ſome obſtacle muſt have prevented their Majeſties' departure; and they left that poſt at five o'clock, though they had been expreſsly ordered by *M. de Bouillé* to remain there the whole day. Half an hour afterwards, the King arrived at Pont-Somevelle; but not perceiving a ſingle ſoldier, he went forward, without taking the precaution of ſending on one of his guards to announce his arrival at the next poſt; whence the intelligence would have been forwarded, according to the orders of *M. de Bouillé*. His Majeſty doubtleſs imagined that the General, who from the beginning had expreſſed the greateſt uneaſineſs concerning the ſuſpicions and alarms which the appearance of the troops might excite upon this road, had been compelled to withdraw them.

It was half paſt ſeven in the evening when the Royal Family arrived at St. Menehould, and ſtopped to change horſes. The Officer who there commanded a detachment of Dragoons, ſurmiſing that the carriages which ſtopped for freſh horſes were thoſe he was charged to eſcort, attempted to draw out his troop on horſeback; but he was prevented by the people, and the ſtables where

the horſes belonging to the Dragoons ſtood, were taken poſſeſſion of and defended by the National Guard. The King, uneaſy at not finding any of the meaſures on which he relied had been taken, imprudently put his head out of the carriage window, and aſked ſome queſtions relative to the road.—It was at that fatal moment that the great reſemblance of the countenance of *Louis XVI.* to the engraving on the Aſſignats ſtruck the ſon of the Poſt-Maſter of St. Menehould, who had already gueſſed that the carriage, which was to be eſcorted by detachments of troops as if it was conveying a treaſure, contained ſuſpected perſons. On going cloſer to look in, he thought he could alſo diſtinguiſh the Queen, and judged that the other travellers muſt be part of the Royal Family, or their ſuite. He was further confirmed in this opinion, when he heard the orders given to take the road to Varennes, and ſaw the Officer who commanded the detachment ſpeaking very animatedly to one of the Couriers*. The fear, however, of creating a falſe alarm kept him ſilent; but as ſoon as the two carriages

* See Appendix, No. xix.

riages ſet off, he mounted on horſeback to follow them, or rather to make his way to Varennes before them by a croſs-road, and to cauſe them to be arreſted if his ſuſpicions ſhould prove well founded. Their Majeſties again changed horſes at Clermont in Argonne, without experiencing the ſlighteſt difficulty. *M. de Damas*, who commanded that poſt, held his troop in readineſs, in conſtant expectation of the Courier who was to inform him of the King's arrival; but that precaution having been neglected at the poſt of Clermont, as at all the others, their Majeſties arrived there, and ſet out again, without *M. de Damas's* knowing any thing of it. However, in about half an hour after they were gone, from the deſcription given of the two carriages that had juſt paſſed, and which had taken the road to Varennes, he had no doubt that they were the carriages of the Royal Family, and immediately gave his Dragoons orders to mount their horſes. The Diſtrict, the Municipality, and National Guard of the place, alarmed at this ſudden and myſterious departure, oppoſed it by all the means in their power. The Dragoons, yielding to the entreaties and threats of the National Guard,

were baſe enough to abandon their commander, who was left to ſet out alone for Varennes, where he arrived ſome moments after the outrageous arreſt of their Majeſties, on the information of the Poſt-Maſter of St. Menehould, who had arrived above an hour before the Royal Family.

This diſaſtrous news reached Paris on the 22d of June at night. At ten o'clock a great noiſe was heard in the Aſſembly; and amidſt a thouſand ſhouts of joy the words "*The King is taken, the King is arreſted,*" were diſtinguiſhed. At this moment two couriers, announced by loud clappings, entered the Hall, and gave the Preſident the packets with which they were charged. Before he opened them the Preſident requeſted the Aſſembly to keep the moſt profound ſilence, and gave an order to the galleries to do the ſame. Theſe packets contained a letter from the Municipal Officers of Varennes, Clermont, and St. Menehould, and ſeveral copies of orders given by *M. de Boullé* for the march and ſtations of the different detachments deſtined to favour the King's eſcape. The reading of theſe papers was followed by ſeveral motions. Thoſe of the *Lameths* having obtained the majority, the drawing

drawing up of the decrees which they propoſed was referred to the Military Committee; it was finiſhed in leſs than an hour, and the decrees paſſed in the following terms:

"The National Aſſembly having heard "the reading, &c. &c. decree that the moſt "powerful and active meaſures ſhall be "taken to ſecure the King's perſon, that of "the Heir Apparent, and thoſe of the Royal "Family, by whom the King is accompanied, and to enſure their return to Paris.

"They order, that for the purpoſe of executing the ſame, *M. Latour Maubourg*, "*M. Pethion*, and *M. Barnave*, ſhall repair to Varennes, and wherever elſe it "ſhall be neceſſary for them to go, with "the title and character of Commiſſioners "of the National Aſſembly.

"They give them power to call out the "National Guards and troops of the line; "to give orders to the Magiſtrates and Municipal Bodies, as well as to all officers "civil and military; and generally to do "and order all that may be neceſſary for the "execution of their miſſions.

"*They particularly recommend to them*

" *to attend and ſee that the reſpect due to* " *the royal dignity be maintained.*

" They decree moreover, that the ſaid " Commiſſioners ſhall be accompanied by " *M. Dumas*, Adjutant General of the Army, " who is charged to attend to the execution " of their orders."

The ſecond decree ſuſpended *M. de Bouillé* from all his military offices, forbade every perſon from obeying him, and ordered the Courts of Juſtice and all Magiſtrates to cauſe him to be arreſted and conducted to Chalons, and the National Guards and troops of the line, as well as all other citizens, to be aiding and aſſiſting in his apprehenſion.

Laſtly, a third decree, paſſed upon the motion of *M. d'André*, enjoined the Department of Paris, the Municipality, and the Commander of the National Guard to take all neceſſary meaſures for the ſafety of the King's perſon, and of his family.

At one o'clock in the morning (Thurſday, 23d June) the buſineſs of the Aſſembly was ſuſpended, the ſitting being permanent. At half paſt eight the Preſident again took his ſeat, and afterwards walked in proceſſion with a great number of Deputies, it being the

the feſtival called *Fête Dieu.* They were attended by a detachment of grenadiers belonging to the National Guard, who having received permiſſion to take, in the preſence of the Aſſembly, the new Oath preſcribed for the troops, filed off in the Hall, in the midſt of clapping, and to the tune of the famous revolutionary air, *Ah ça ira,* played by a military band.

In the courſe of the day ſeveral perſons who had or who pretended to have aſſiſted in arreſting the King were admitted to the bar, where with the moſt horrid impudence they related the means they had employed to commit that crime, and particularly their threats of firing into their Majeſties' carriage if it did not ſtop: and theſe regicide exploits obtained applauſes no leſs criminal. *Robeſpierre* even propoſed that civic crowns ſhould be decreed to theſe villains; and the propoſal, loudly applauded by the Aſſembly, was referred to the Committee of the Conſtitution.

At five o'clock in the evening a letter from the three Commiſſioners ſent to meet the King, dated from La Ferté-ſous-Jouarre, Thurſday 23d June, at nine o'clock in the morning, informed the Aſſembly that the

King had paſſed the night at Chalons; that he had arrived there eſcorted by an army of National Guards; that every where the people were in great ſpirits, but tranquil, and manifeſted their reſpectful confidence in the Aſſembly.

The greateſt dangers which the Royal Family had to experience were at their approach to the capital, and on their entering it—not only becauſe the populace there were more corrupt and more miſled by the revolutionary mania, but becauſe they had long been accuſtomed to conſider the inſults offered to his Majeſty as acts of patriotiſm. An apprehenſion that on this occaſion more ſerious attempts might be made, determined the Committee of the Conſtitution to propoſe the following decree:

Art. I. "The National Aſſembly declare "traitors to the Nation and the King thoſe "who have counſelled, aided, and exe- "cuted the carrying off of the King; and "all thoſe who, in order to favour perfi- "dious deſigns, as contrary to the rights of "the French people as to the intereſts of "royalty, ſhall endeavour to oppoſe the "King's return to the capital, and his re- "union

" union with the Repreſentatives of the Na-
" tion.

Art. II. " They order all public officers and
" commanders of troops of the line, the Na-
" tional Gendarmerie, and National Guards,
" to employ, each according to their ſtation,
" the authority confided to them to main-
" tain in full ſecurity the King's perſon,
" and that of the individuals of his family
" who accompany him.

Art. III. " They order them alſo to re-
" pel by force, and to ſeize and put under
" arreſt, to be immediately proſecuted, *all*
" *thoſe who ſhould dare to behave impro-*
" *perly towards the King, or who ſhould be*
" *deficient in the reſpect due to the royal au-*
" *thority and dignity*, or violate in the per-
" ſons that accompany him the ſafety of the
" individual, guarantied to every Citizen
" by the Conſtitution.

Art. IV. " They enjoin the public ac-
" cuſers in the Courts of Paris to proſecute
" rigorouſly and without delay whoſoever
" ſhall endeavour to impede the effect of the
" meaſures which ſhall be taken by the De-
" partment and by the Municipality of
" Paris, according to the decrees of the
" National Aſſembly, to ſecure the tranquil-
" lity

" lity of the capital, and guaranty the King's
" ſafety with that of the perſons accom-
" panying him, at their arrival in Paris."

Immediately after reading this plan for a decree, ſeveral members of the *Coté Droit* roſe to demand its being put to the vote; but *Robeſpierre* and *Rewbell* oppoſed it. " The " firſt article of the decree propoſed to you," ſaid *Robeſpierre*, " prejudges great queſ- " tions; the duty of the Repreſentatives of " the Nation compels them to take a much " more important queſtion into conſidera- " tion, which ought to be ſolemnly diſ- " cuſſed. I ſhall not enter upon it; it " ſtrikes you all, and in this view I move " the adjournment of the firſt article. The " others are uſeleſs; the conduct of the " people has been ſo prudent, ſo grand, that " it is impoſſible not to truſt to their mode- " ration. It would be doing them injuſtice " not to look upon the precautions already " taken as ſufficient."

Rewbell alſo ſpoke violently againſt the firſt article. He was angry that the Committee had made uſe of the expreſſion *carrying off*. " How, Gentlemen," cried he, " after our experience ſhall we never " dare

" dare to ſay the truth? By neglecting to " ſay it, we have led France to the brink " of a precipice! The expreſſion *carrying* " *off* is miſplaced, in regard to all the " members of the Aſſembly who are not " accomplices in the flight. The laſt ſen- " tence of the article is ſtill much more " important. The King is to return, Gen- " tlemen, and without doubt we ought to take " care that he returns ſafe; but leave out " the words *re-union with the Repreſenta-* " *tives of the Nation.* I ſhall ſay no more; " for whoever does not underſtand me is " unworthy of being a Frenchman." The villains preſent proved by their applauſes that they but too well underſtood what he meant, and honeſt men ſhuddered with horror at it.

This buſineſs was interrupted by the entrance of *M. de la Fayette* at the head of the Pariſian National Guard, who came to take the new oath. " You ſee before you, " Gentlemen," ſaid the General, " Citi- " zens who are ever the more devoted to " their Country, the more it needs them. " They defended Liberty in its birth againſt " the firſt conſpiracies which attacked it. " They are ſtill more eager to rally round it

" in

" in theſe unforeſeen days in which it is
" threatened; and if it be true that the
" ſublime and magnanimous tranquillity
" which the People of the Capital have diſ-
" played has only ſerved to augment the
" fury of our enemies, haſten to point out
" to us where they are, and let the firſt ſol-
" diers of Liberty be the firſt to repel the
" ſoldiers of Deſpotiſm."

Some ſtale compliments upon the civic virtues, and the endleſs courage of the National Guard, were all the Preſident's anſwer. He very prudently abſtained from pointing out to theſe defenders of Liberty and the Conſtitution *where they might find Deſpotiſm and its ſoldiers*, becauſe he could not with truth at that moment have anſwered *M. de la Fayette*, but by pointing out to him the *Coté-Gauche* of the Aſſembly, and the Jacobin Clubs. He concluded his anſwer with reading the form of the new oath, which was taken by all the Guards at once. After them, ſeveral thouſands of Citizens, of every condition, filed through the Hall for near three hours, raiſing their hands when they came oppoſite the Preſident, and crying, *We ſwear it!—Vive la Nation!* and at the ſame time the muſic of

the National Guard played, without interruption, the air *Ah! ça ira.*

The ſhouts and tumult cauſed them to loſe ſight of the Decree propoſed by the Committee of the Conſtitution, who themſelves thought it more prudent to let it drop. It was then half paſt eleven o'clock at night, and the Preſident ſuſpended buſineſs (the Sitting being permanent) till the Committees were ready with ſome new report.

Such were the events of the 21ſt, 22d and 23d days of June. Their importance ſeemed to me to require all the details into which I have entered; and I have endeavoured to report them with the greateſt exactneſs.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XLII

The King and Royal Family arreſted at Varennes—M. de Dampierre murdered in the Preſence of their Majeſties—M. de Montmorin ſuſpected—He juſtifies himſelf—The National Aſſembly ſuſpend the Proceedings of the Electoral Aſſemblies—Letters from the Commiſſioners ſent to meet the King—The Villain who arreſted the King is preſented to the Aſſembly—The Aſſembly, informed by the Commiſſioners of the Day on which they expected to arrive with the Royal Family, paſs a Decree on the Occaſion—The Arrival of the Royal Family—The Inſults received by them—M. de la Fayette—The dangers experienced by the three Gardes-du-Corps,

du-Corps who had attended their Majeſties—Motion for diſbanding the Gardes-du-Corps—M. de Bonnai—Proceedings ordered to be commenced relative to the Departure of the Royal Family—The Declaration of the King and Queen—Deputation from the Commune of Varennes—The Count d'Eſtaing's ridiculous Letter—Decree relative to the Appointment of a Governor for the Dauphin—M. de Bouillé's Letter to the Aſſembly.

WHILE the Aſſembly were adminiſtering to the Public Officers, the National Guards, the troops of the line, and the inhabitants of Paris, oaths of fidelity and obedience in which the King was no longer mentioned, the Royal Family, who on their entering Varennes had been arreſted by *Drouet* the Poſt-Maſter of St. Menehould, and ſeven or eight villains, and had been kept in confinement by Citizen *Sauſſe*, Attorney of the Commune, were returning to Paris by ſhort ſtages, under the eſcort of ſome Commiſſioners of diſtricts and municipalities, and about 6000 National Guards or patriots aſſembled at the ſound of the alarm-bell. This army was ſucceſſively relieved by other

National Guards on the road, and reinforced by all the vagabonds they met. *M. de Bouillé*, too late informed of their Majeſties' being arreſted, could not reach Varennes with the regiment of *Royal Allemand* till two hours after their departure, and he left the town in deſpair at not being able to afford any ſuccour to that auguſt and unfortunate family *.

At Varennes the King had the pain of ſeeing thoſe officers who had manifeſted moſt zeal to ſerve him, ſeized and treated ignominiouſly. On the way a ſight more horrid ſtill was reſerved for him. *M. de Dampierre*, an old gentleman of Champagne, being by chance on the road to Chalons at the moment that the Royal Family were paſſing, wiſhed to approach the carriage, and endeavoured to pierce through the mob of furies by which it was ſurrounded. He was unarmed, and merely wiſhed to teſtify to their Majeſties by looks his loyalty and grief. This deſire, ſo natural and ſo affecting, coſt him his life. He was inhu-

* See the particulars related in the Memoirs of *M. de Bouillé*, and the ſtatement which I have inſerted in my private Memoirs, Vol. ii. p. 220.

manly

manly murdered before the eyes of the King, to the ſhouts of *Vive la Nation.*

On the 24th the Aſſembly were informed of all the particulars relative to the King's journey and arreſt, from an account given by the Aide-de-Camp *Romeuf*, who, in conſequence of *M. de la Fayette*'s orders, had followed the Royal Family, and arrived ſome hours after them at Varennes, where he gave notice of the decree which ordered that their Majeſties ſhould be brought back to Paris. This Aide-de-Camp was the ſame whom the workmen on the *Pont Louis XVI.* had ſtopped on the morning of the 21ſt of June. Had they but detained him two hours longer, his arrival at Varennes would have been ſo much retarded, that *M. de Bouillé* would have been in time, and the Royal Family might have been reſcued!

A deputation from the diſtrict of Clermont in Argonne, who had been introduced at the bar with *Romeuf*, confirmed his account, and laid before the Aſſembly an extract of the minutes of their Directory. The reading of this minute was interrupted to read a paſſport, which the King had preſented at Varennes, and which ran thus: By "the King's authority, &c. We command and

" order that you allow the Baroneſs *de Korff*
" going to Franckfort, with two children,
" one woman, a valet-de-chambre, and three
" ſervants, &c. &c. to paſs freely. This
" paſſport laſts for a month only. Given
" at Paris, June 5th, 1791. Signed LOUIS,
" and lower, By the King, MONTMORIN."
At the name of the Miniſter, ſurpriſe and indignation were manifeſted by the Aſſembly. " I move," ſaid Camus, " that orders be given " immediately to *M. de Montmorin* to repair " hither, for his ſafety and for ours alſo." Another Member of the *Coté-Gauche* moved, " that the Miniſter ſhould be brought by " a numerous detachment of the National " Guards." Theſe two motions were unanimouſly decreed, and *M. de la Fayette* was at the ſame time charged to put the decree in execution.

Meanwhile, till the Miniſter was brought, the Aſſembly had time to finiſh the reading of the minute of the diſtrict of Clermont; and to decree a propoſition of the Committee of Coinage, that the metal of the church-bells ſhould be coined into pence and half-pence. *Alexander de Lameth* alſo obtained, in the name of the Military Committee, a decree which augmented the powers of the Generals

Generals of the army, and commanded the Civil Commiſſioners to find them the number of National Guards which they ſhould judge neceſſary for the ſervice.

The populace, always prone to condemn, already proclaimed *M. de Montmorin* a traitor to the Nation, and could not mention his name without fury. The moſt ferocious cries followed him to the very door of the Aſſembly, which he never would have reached but for the powerful eſcort which protected him. The threats and ſanguinary clamours of the mob did not deprive him of his preſence of mind. He anſwered the queſtions put to him by the Preſident firmly and ingenuouſly. He ſaid, "that paſſports "for foreigners were always granted on "the demand of their ambaſſadors; that "the Miniſter had no means of knowing, "or of aſcertaining, whether the foreign "names given in were true or feigned, and "conſequently that he could not be anſwer-"able for them. It gives me pain," added he, "to find that ſuch a circumſtance can "have created ſuſpicions againſt me: if in "giving this paſſport I had been guilty of "the treaſon of which I am ſuſpected, it

" might be imagined that I ſhould either
" have gone before or ſoon followed it."

The Aſſembly appeared to require no farther explanation. Even the galleries ſhowed by their applauſes that they were ſatisfied; but *Camus* ſtill had doubts. " I do not " underſtand," ſaid he, " this manner of " proceeding. It appears to me that you " decide upon mere words. I am ſurpriſed " that you are always ſo eaſily ſatisfied, " and ſo ready to take a favourable impreſ- " ſion. I move, that the Aſſembly name " four Commiſſioners, to ſearch all the of- " fices where this paſſport has been made " out, and to aſcertain if there be any " paper or document to demand it."

This motion was approved of, and *Camus* was one of the Commiſſioners appointed to make the examination he propoſed. During their abſence *M. de Montmorin* remained in the Aſſembly with the other Miniſters who had alſo attended.

In this interval the Aſſembly, upon a report of the Committee of the Conſtitution, decreed, that taking into conſideration the new circumſtances in which they were placed, they could not, without endangering the

the public welfare, determine upon the preciſe period of their ſeparation, whatever zeal they might employ to accelerate it, &c. It was therefore ordered, that the Electors who had been or ſhould be nominated by the Primary Aſſemblies ſhould not meet; and that the nomination of Deputies be ſuſpended until a day which ſhould be fixed by a new decree.

At firſt this decree was oppoſed by ſeveral Members, who moved the previous queſtion. Others endeavoured to prevent its being read through. But the Committee of the Conſtitution being powerfully ſupported by ſome Members of unſuſpected patriotiſm, particularly by *Rewbell*, repreſented that this meaſure was indiſpenſable to prevent the Electoral Aſſemblies from taking any reſolutions upon the preſent circumſtances; and that if it was not adopted, there would be a riſk of having not only eighty-three deliberating bodies, but two National Aſſemblies exiſting at once; and that this confuſion muſt lead to a diſſolution of the Monarchy. It is curious enough that this argument, which decided the queſtion in favour of the Committee's opinion, was advanced by thoſe Members of the Aſſembly who were the

moſt obſtinately bent upon overthrowing the forms and principles of Monarchical Government.

At five o'clock in the evening, the Commiſſioners who had been ſent to *M. de Montmorin's* offices returned, and declared, that they had aſcertained that a paſsport had been granted to the Baroneſs *de Korff*, on the 5th of June, on the demand of *M. de Simolin*, the Ruſſian Miniſter; that under the pretence of the firſt having been inadvertently burnt, a ſecond paſſport, being a duplicate of the former, had been obtained by the ſame channel; and that the papers by which theſe facts were atteſted had been delivered to them.

This report removing every doubt as to *M. de Montmorin*, the Aſſembly decreed unanimouſly, that his conduct was irreproachable; and ordered, that this decree, together with the report on which it was founded, ſhould be immediately publiſhed, and fixed up in every part of the town. At the ſame time they appointed four other Commiſſioners to go and undeceive and ſtop the people, who were preſſing in crowds to *M. de Montmorin's* houſe.

The Aſſembly received at that moment a letter

a letter from the three Commiſſioners whom they had ſent to the King. The contents were as follows:

" *Dormans, June 24th* 1791,
" *A quarter paſt three*
" *o'clock in the morning.*

" MR. PRESIDENT,

" We met the King near Epernay. He " was in a carriage with the Queen, the " Dauphin, the Princeſs Royal, *Madame* " *Elizabeth*, and *Madame Tourzel*. Three " ſervants were on the coach-box, and two " women followed in a cabriolet. The " road was filled with an immenſe number " of people in arms. We approached the " King's perſon, informed him of our miſ- " ſion, and read to him the decree of " the National Aſſembly: we read it alſo " to the brave Citizens who eſcorted him. " We appointed *M. Dumas* their Com- " mander, and we proceeded in good order " to Dormans, where we paſs the night.— " To-morrow we ſhall reach Meaux, " and the day after arrive in Paris. Our " journey is retarded by the multitudes of " National Guards who crowd from all " parts to the road where the King paſſes,

" to

" to eſcort him; their zeal, and their pru-
" dent and noble conduct, deſerve our
" praiſe.

" We are, &c. &c. &c.

" (Signed) *Pethion,*
" *La Tour,*
" *Maubourg,*
" *Barnave,*
" *Dumas.*"

After the reading of this letter, the members of the ſix criminal courts of Paris were admitted to the bar. They complimented the Aſſembly upon their wiſdom, energy, and heroiſm. They paid them the homage of their admiration, gave them the aſſurance of their fidelity, and teſtified the extent of their patriotiſm by the following ſentence:—" In a criſis like the preſent, when *the firſt* " *Citizen of the Empire is perjured; when* " *the firſt Public Functionary, led by per-* " *fidious ſuggeſtions, has deſerted his poſt,* " &c. &c." Theſe blaſphemous expreſſions, loudly applauded, obtained for thoſe who uttered them the thanks of the Aſſembly, and the honours of the Sitting.

To this criminal Deputation ſucceeded that of the Council-General of the Commune of the

the *good City of Paris*, who came to preſent to the Aſſembly the two villains who had contributed moſt to the arreſt of the Royal Family. "This," ſaid the ſpeaker, "is *M. Drouet*, Poſt-Maſter of St. Mene-"hould, the firſt who thought he recogniſed "the King and Queen, and who thereupon "reſolved to follow them: that is *M. Guil-*"*laume*, his comrade, who ſet out with "him, and, acting in concert, took mea-"ſures to ſtop the ſuſpected carriages."—*M. Drouet* aſked leave of the Aſſembly to relate what he had done upon this occaſion; and, being permitted, he read part of his narrative, and extemporiſed the reſt. Almoſt every ſentence of this tiſſue of patriotic boaſting and inſipid rhodomontade was applauded*. The anſwer of the Preſident, *Alexander Beauharnois* deſerved, and obtained the ſame ſucceſs. It was couched in theſe terms:

"The National Aſſembly have received "you with that enthuſiaſm which they owe "to Citizens who have diſplayed ſo much "zeal, and ſo generous a devotion for their

* See Appendix, No. xix.

"country;

" country; to men who have probably
" ſaved France from a ruinous war. If the
" Pariſians regret that you were not born
" among them, the whole Nation claim you.
" It is France which you have ſaved; and
" the National Aſſembly engage to recom-
" penſe the ſervices which you have done
" your country. Your conduct has given
" them the moſt perfect ſatisfaction; they
" invite you to the Sitting."

A Deputation from the Directory of the Department now came to pay their homage to the Aſſembly. It was received with dignity, and the buſineſs was ſuſpended.

The next morning at half paſt ſeven, the Preſident received from the Commiſſioners who accompanied the King, a letter dated *Meaux, June 24th, eleven in the evening.* It mentioned, that the King and the perſons with him would arrive at Paris the next day, June 25th, between two and three in the afternoon; but as they might meet with delays on their journey, the Commiſſioners requeſted the Aſſembly to continue ſitting till they were informed that the Royal Family were at the Tuilleries. The ſeals were ſtill on the doors of the Palace, but the

the Municipality was authoriſed to take them off, and accordingly went thither in the morning; cauſing an order to be publiſhed in the mean time, prohibiting all perſons from quitting Paris, till a new order granting leave ſhould be iſſued.

The patriots of the Fauxbourgs were not without their proclamation alſo. Advertiſements were ſtuck up every where, declaring *that whoever applauded the King ſhould be baſtinadoed, and whoever inſulted him ſhould be hanged.*

But among the outrages which blackened this day of horror, the moſt criminal was committed by the Aſſembly themſelves.—They ſuffered the Committee of the Conſtitution to dare to announce, by their ſpeaker, the lawyer *Thouret, that it was impoſſible to allow the original relation between the National Aſſembly and the King to ſubſiſt now; to endanger the validity of their Decrees, by ſubmitting them to a ſanction always ſubject to a diſavowal; or to have the Executive Power veſted where there are diſpoſitions manifeſtly hoſtile to the Conſtitution.* Theſe atrocious aſſertions were without doubt neceſſary to prepare the minds

minds of the people for the following Decree:

Art. 1. As ſoon as the King arrives at the Palace of the Tuilleries, there ſhall be appointed for him, proviſionally, a guard, who, under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the Pariſian National Guards, ſhall attend to his ſafety, and be anſwerable for his perſon.

Art. 2. The Heir Apparent of the Crown ſhall have a particular guard appointed for him proviſionally, under the orders alſo of the Commander-in-Chief; and the National Aſſembly ſhall nominate a Governor for him.

Art. 3. All thoſe perſons who accompanied the Royal Family ſhall be put under arreſt, and examined. The declaration of the King and Queen ſhall be heard without delay, that the National Aſſembly may take ſuch meaſures as ſhall be judged neceſſary.

Art. 4. A particular guard ſhall be appointed proviſionally for the Queen.

Art. 5. The Decree of the 21ſt of June, enjoining the Miniſter of Juſtice to affix the State Seal to the Decrees of the National Aſſembly,

ſembly, without the ſanction or aſſent of the King, ſhall remain in force until it is otherwiſe directed.

Art. 6. The Miniſters and the King's Commiſſioners, who ſuperintend the Funds for Extraordinary Expences, the National Treaſury, and the Sinking Funds, ſhall continue authoriſed proviſionally to diſcharge each in his own Department, and individually reſponſible, the functions of the Executive Power.

Art. 7. The Miniſter of the Interior ſhall tranſmit orders to the Director of the Department of Paris, to publiſh this Decree immediately, by ſound of trumpet, in every quarter of the Town *.

M. Malouet roſe and oppoſed this Decree with energy and courage. "It is," he ſaid, "in effect changing in an inſtant of time, "and from this moment, the form of Go- "vernment eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution "you have decreed, and which you have "ſworn to maintain. In that Conſtitution the "abſence of the King was foreſeen, and his "perſon declared ſacred and inviolable; but,

* This laſt article was moved by *Deſmeuniers*.

" inſtead of adhering to the Conſtitutional
" meaſures which alone are applicable to
" this caſe, it is propoſed to you to make
" a priſoner of the King, and to combine
" all the Sovereign Powers in the hands of
" the National Aſſembly. I move, that the
" Aſſembly reſolve themſelves into a Grand
" Committee, in order to deliberate upon the
" ſubject; or, that we join the Committee of
" the Conſtitution, in their Chamber, where
" every one may freely make his obſerva-
" tions. Let us beware both of prejudice and
" thoughtleſſneſs. Let us ſave the people
" from ſorrow and wretchedneſs. I propoſe
" a conference, and I declare, that I will
" never accede to meaſures which tend to
" make the King a priſoner."

Rœderer, " wiſhing," he ſaid, " to re-
" lieve the mind of the laſt ſpeaker, aſ-
" ſerted, that the Decree which was pro-
" poſed, decided nothing relative to the in-
" violability of the King. It had no re-
" ference either to accuſing or to trying
" him. It ſimply decreed, that he ſhould
" remain in cuſtody proviſionally." *No! No!* It is ſhocking! cried ſeveral voices; and more ſtill inſiſted that he ſhould be called to order. He attempted to juſtify what

he had ſaid, but no one would liſten to him. The agitation and tumult were violent. At length he was ſuffered to ſpeak:—"I have "expreſſed myſelf very ill, if I have been "underſtood to admit, that the idea of "keeping the King in cuſtody is included "in the plan of the Committee. I intended, "on the contrary, to refute this explanation "of the Decree which *M. Malouet* has ad-"vanced; and I cannot be reprehenſible for "having uſed his own expreſſions." The want of candour in this explanation was apparent to every body, and *Rœderer* was hiſſed the more.

Alexander Lameth defended the plan of the Committee with ſuperior addreſs and perfidy. "In the firſt place," ſaid he, "I ſee in it meaſures relative to the King's "perſon—meaſures equally neceſſary for "his ſafety, and for the ſafety of the Na-"tion. The King will ſoon arrive in Paris, "and I cannot ſuppoſe that *M. Malouet* "wiſhes to delay precautions of ſo import-"ant a nature. With reſpect to the ſecond "part of the Decree relative to the provi-"ſional power of Government; theſe "clauſes, inſtead of carrying us from the "principles of our Conſtitution, bring us

" back to them. According to theſe prin-
" ciples, during the exiſtence of the Conſti-
" tuent Power, the exerciſe of the Execu-
" tive Power ought to have been ſuſpended
" in the hands of the King, becauſe we
" were organizing the Throne. If incon-
" veniences in practice have prevented our
" declaring theſe principles hitherto, the
" preſent circumſtances ſhow the neceſſity
" of them. Let me bring back to your re-
" collection, what muſt ever be honourable
" to the National Aſſembly, that at the mo-
" ment when we heard of the King's
" flight, and when it became neceſſary to
" provide for the ſafety of the Kingdom,
" the Aſſembly rejected the propoſal of
" eſtabliſhing an Executive Committee,
" proving that the moſt ſerious, urgent, and
" important events could produce no change
" in their principles. Sent hither to give a
" Conſtitution to France, we were of
" opinion that the extent of the country,
" and a population of five-and-twenty mil-
" lions, required an unity of power and
" action, which could only be found in a
" Monarchical form of Government. If
" this opinion were right a year ago, it is
" right now. Events have not altered the
" nature

" nature of things, nor ſhall they alter our " conduct. We will continue to form the " Conſtitution: we will finiſh it. It will, " I hope, fulfill the wiſhes of the Nation, " and in producing their happineſs be our " reward."

The reiterated applauſes which were beſtowed upon this ſpeech did not diſcourage *M. Malouet.* He inſiſted on being heard, in ſpite of the menacing hints thrown out to ſilence him; for he was repeatedly aſked, *if he wiſhed to get himſelf aſſaſſinated.* In anſwer to *Alexander Lameth*, he ſaid— " That the Aſſembly had not received in- " ſtructions, nor had it a right, to ſuſpend " all the powers of the State; and that the " propoſed meaſure was in direct contradic- " tion to the principles they had hitherto " purſued. It is," he repeated, " a new " Conſtitution, a new form of Government, " that is offered to you. It is a project " only now conceived. You did not aſ- " ſume the Executive Power from the firſt. " By what right do you make yourſelves " maſters of it now? And is it not making " yourſelves maſters of it, to entruſt it to " agents whom circumſtances have placed

" in the moſt abſolute dependance upon
" you? Can that portion of power which
" conſiſts in ſuſpending the paſſing of a
" law, and which the Conſtitution you have
" decreed, and ſolemnly ſworn to maintain,
" has lodged in the hands of the King, exiſt
" in the hands of Miniſters, who are re-
" moveable at pleaſure? Take care, Gentle-
" men, you are led much too far. The Na-
" tion itſelf may become alarmed at this
" accumulation of power; beware of the
" conſequences."

Notwithſtanding the force of theſe arguments, which were only anſwered by menaces, revolutionary declamations, or unmeaning phraſes, the majority of the Aſſembly being convinced that the meaſures propoſed by the Committee had no other object than the ſafety of the Royal Family, and that they had no tendency to keeping the King a priſoner, adopted almoſt unanimouſly the two firſt articles of the plan. The others paſſed likewiſe, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of *M. Malouet* to that alſo which ſtated, *that the declaration of the King and Queen ſhould be heard.* He was anſwered, that this form was ſanctioned by precedents

and

and that hiſtory furniſhed many examples, where in criminal proceedings the King and Queen had made declarations. But not any of thoſe examples were applicable; for none of the proceedings in thoſe caſes tended to expoſe, as in this, the Royal dignity to a judiciary accuſation.

In the mean time the King, Queen, and Royal Family, whoſe journey was delayed by the multitude, which was continually collecting about them, advanced ſlowly towards Paris, in the midſt of the diſguſting and fanatical clamours of ſome wretches whom the National Guards could hardly keep off. A thick cloud of duſt, and a hot day rendered more oppreſſive by the offenſive breath of the crowd, added an inſufferable torment to the anguiſh of their Majeſties' minds. The Queen, diſtreſſed for her children, let down one of the Venetian blinds, and addreſſing the people ſaid, "See what a ſtate my poor children are in! We are ſtifled." Some ferocious voices made anſwer, "*We ſhall "ſtifle you in a very different way.*" At one time a very ſerious alarm aroſe from a great number of ill-looking fellows ruſhing through the crowd up to the King's carriage: it was whiſpered, that theſe were a band of aſſaſſins

poſted by the Duke of *Orleans* to murder the King and Queen *. The Commander of the eſcort ſoon diſperſed theſe ruffians by means of ſome of the troops.

It was about ſeven o'clock in the evening when the Royal Family arrived at the Place *Louis XV.* The mortifications which they endured all the way from the barrier, announced too plainly the fate which was reſerved for them.

All civil and military honours were refuſed them. The National Guards at the different poſts before which the King paſſed, obeyed with inſolence and exactneſs the orders they had received, not to preſent their arms: an order the more criminal, as it was contradictory to the decree of the night of June 22d, *relative to the maintenance of the reſpect due to the Royal dignity.* The

* This was a groundleſs conjecture: it was generally known, that at this time the Duke of *Orleans*, who was entirely ruined, and deſpiſed by all parties, had not the means, and indeed had no intereſt, to effect the crime in queſtion. He had even declared on the firſt and 22d of June to ſeveral Members of the Aſſembly, and repeated it on the 26th in a letter, which was inſerted in all the journals, that if a Regency ſhould be propoſed, he renounced for ever the right which the Conſtitution gave him to that ſituation.

populace,

populace, encouraged by this example, brutally forced the ſpectators to keep their hats on in the King's preſence; and the National Guards did not prevent this act of compulſion. But they could not intimidate the brave and worthy *Guilhermy* *. He continued reſolutely uncovered in ſpite of the inſults and threats to which his reſiſtance ſubjected him; and when he ſaw that the mob meant to compel him by force to put on his hat, he toſſed it amidſt the crowd, and to ſo great a diſtance, that there was no fear of its being brought back to him. This ſcene paſſed in the gardens of the Tuileries, into which the Royal Family had entered by the Place *Louis XV.*, in their way to the Palace.

The clamours and noiſy tumult announced to the Aſſembly the King's arrival in the Gardens. In every part of the Hall there appeared great agitation, and buſineſs was ſuſpended for near twenty minutes, when a Deputy entering precipitately, ſaid, that the three couriers who were ſitting on the coach-box of the King's carriage were ſurrounded by the people, and in danger of being hanged. The Aſſembly immediately ſent twenty Com-

* A Member of the Aſſembly, and the King's Attorney at Caſtelnaudarry.

miſſioners to eſtabliſh order, who returned in leſs than a quarter of an hour, and informed them, that upon their appearing the tumult had ceaſed; that at the door of the King's carriage they ſaw *Pethion*, who appeared endeavouring to ſcreen him with his body; and that the National Guard had cleared the way for the Royal Family.

Their Majeſties alighted at the Terrace. The Viſcount *de Noailles* being there, ran up to the Queen, and preſented her his arm. Accuſtomed to preſerve energy and dignity in the midſt of outrages, ſhe rejected with a look of ineffable contempt the protection which this Member of the *Coté-Gauche* had the impudence to offer her; and perceiving two faithful Members of the *Coté-Droit*, ſhe advanced towards them, and did them the honour to take their arms.

The three Commiſſioners who had been ſent to meet the Royal Family having brought them back to the Palace, and having delivered their Majeſties to the care of the Commander of the National Guard, went to the Aſſembly to give an account of their miſſion.

Barnave, who undertook the narrative, entered into a detail of the meaſures and precautions which the Commiſſioners had taken.

taken, to fruſtrate the attempts which were ſaid to be in agitation for carrying off the King, or for preventing his return. He mentioned alſo the various directions which they had given, *that, according to the intention of the National Aſſembly, order, and the reſpect due to the Royal dignity might be conſtantly maintained.* He declared that the public tranquillity had never been diſturbed, and that the Commiſſioners had every where received teſtimonies of entire confidence in the National Aſſembly.

The three *Gardes-du-Corps*, (*M. Valori*, *M. de Moutier*, and *M. Malſan*) who, diſguiſed as couriers, had accompanied the Royal Family, were detained in cuſtody in one of the rooms of the Palace. The Aſſembly decreed, that the Miniſter of War ſhould give orders to the Magiſtrates of Paris to have them removed to a houſe of confinement. This decree was followed by a motion for diſbanding the four companies of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, on the ground of their being more attached to the King than to the Country. *M. de Bonnai*, attempting to defend his comrades, was himſelf denounced by the Committee of Inquiry, who accuſed him of having the day after the departure of the Royal

Royal Family ſent to the Groom of th King's Stables at Verſailles for a horſe, i order to fly from Paris at the time that th Aſſembly were manifeſting ſuch firmneſs *M. de Bonnai* eaſily refuted this charge, b proving that he was in the country fou leagues from Paris, when he was informe of the King's departure: that conſequently he had not ſent for the horſe in order to fly as he was not then at Paris, and as he returned thither the moment he was informed that the Aſſembly continued to hold their Sitting there. "We are charged," added he, "with being more attached to the King "than to the Country. Now I declare that "I conſider the King and the Country as in- "diviſible, and that, as I have ſworn to die as "well for the one as for the other, whichever "called for my ſervice I ſhould obey. I "ſhould go wherever duty required, whe- "ther ſummoned by the King or by the "Nation. Had the King called me to his "Councils, I ſhould have diſſuaded him from "his departure; but had he choſen me to "attend him, I repeat, that I would have "died by his ſide, and gloried in my death."

This declaration, which was pronounced with a firm voice, and at a time when it was dangerous

dangerous to profeſs himſelf a Royaliſt, excited as much murmuring in the *Coté-Gauche* as applauſe in the *Coté-Droit*. It probably haſtened the diſbanding of the *Gardes-du-Corps* *; but it gained at leaſt the advantage of rendering the laſt moments of their military exiſtence illuſtrious, by the ſolemn profeſſion of ſentiments replete with honour and fidelity, for which they had always been diſtinguiſhed.

The buſineſs of the Aſſembly was ſuſpended at eleven o'clock that night, and reſumed the next morning at ten, when they proceeded to the report delivered in the name of the Committee of the Conſtitution and of the Criminal Legiſlation, upon the manner of executing the decree paſſed the evening before, relative to arreſting and examining the perſons who had accompanied the Royal Family, and to the proceedings that ſhould be adopted on the occaſion.

After long debates, in which the Republican party ſhewed evidently the deſign of bringing the King to a trial, the Conſtitutionaliſts, ſupported by the Members of the

* The Aſſembly decreed the diſbanding in this Sitting, and charged the Military Committee to draw up a plan of a decree for the purpoſe.

Coté-

Coté-Droit, who took a ſhare in the deciſion, carried the decree which was propoſed by the Committees. It was worded as follows:

Art. I. "The National Aſſembly decree, "that upon the event which happened on "the night between the 20th and 21ſt of "June, and upon all the facts before and "after relative to it, an inquiry ſhall be "made wherever it may be judged neceſſary by the tribunal of the ſection of the "Tuileries, who ſhall appoint for that purpoſe two Commiſſioners from among "themſelves.

Art. II. "The ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall "proceed without delay to examine all "thoſe perſons who have been arreſted in "conſequence of the decree of the 25th of "this month; and likewiſe all other witneſſes who on the examination may appear to be neceſſary.

Art. III. "The National Aſſembly ſhall "nominate three of its Members as Commiſſioners to receive the Declarations of "the King and Queen. Theſe declarations "ſhall be received ſeparately from the King "and Queen's own mouths, committed to "paper,

" paper, and ſigned by them and by the " Commiſſioners. The whole ſhall be re- " ported to the Aſſembly, that they may " adopt ſuch meaſures as ſhall be judged " proper."

While the Aſſembly continued ſitting, the Members in ſucceſſion retired to the offices to proceed to the nomination of the three Commiſſioners who were to receive the declarations of their Majeſties.

In this interval, *George*, the Mayor of Varennes, and ſome National Guards, with the ſon of the Mayor, who was their commander, were introduced to the Bar. The Mayor in his harangue pointed out, among the patriots who formed this deputation, two perſons named *Le Blanc* and *Poncin*, who were crowned with oak leaves. Theſe were the two villains who ſtopped the King by threatening to fire into the coach. *Alexander de Beauharnois*, the Preſident, highly extolled their patriotiſm and *admirable conduct*. " Varennes," ſaid he, " will be ſo ce- " lebrated, that all France will be proud of " ſuch a town. The National Aſſembly " requeſts you to aſſure all its inhabitants, " that they are thoroughly ſenſible of the

" ſervices they have rendered the country; " and you may alſo aſſure them, that their " grateful countrymen would haſten to aſ- " ſemble under their walls, if the ſatellites " of Deſpotiſm ſhould dare to approach " them." Notwithſtanding theſe promiſes and aſſurances, it is more than probable that the day will come, and perhaps it is not very diſtant, when the infamous borough of Varennes and its guilty inhabitants, become the objects of the execration of all France, ſhall have occaſion for all the clemency of the King, and for his whole power, to ſave them from the juſt fury of the people. In the election of the three Commiſſioners to receive the King and Queen's declaration, 599 members voted: of theſe a great majority were for the appointment of *M. Tronchet*, *M. d'André*, and *Adrien Duport*. Theſe three Members of the Conſtitutional party had principally contributed to the paſſing of the decree propoſed by the Committees.

This memorable Sitting, which commenced on Tueſday the 21ſt of June, at half paſt eight o'clock in the morning, was at length adjourned on Sunday the 26th, at half paſt three in the afternoon.

On

On the ſame day the three Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly, preceded by two Uſhers, went to the Palace about ſeven o'clock in the evening, and were introduced to the King, whom they found alone. They read the decree of the Aſſembly to his Majeſty, and informed him that the Declaration which they were employed to receive muſt refer to the circumſtances which happened on the night between the 20th and 21ſt of June, as well as to the facts before and after relative to it. The King replied, that he did not mean to ſubmit to an examination; but that he conſented to explain the facts which were mentioned to him.

After this obſervation, the King dictated the Declaration which the Commiſſioners required, and of which they made a minute in the following terms:

" I find, Gentlemen, that an examination " is out of the queſtion in your commiſſion; " but I am very willing to comply with " the deſire of the National Aſſembly, and " ſhall never be afraid of making the mo- " tives of my conduct public.

" The motives of my departure then are, " the outrages and threats received on the " 18th

" 18th of April by my family and myſelf;
" after which ſeveral pamphlets were pub-
" liſhed to excite violence againſt us—and to
" this moment theſe inſults remain unpu-
" niſhed. From that time I thought that
" neither ſafety nor common decency was
" to be expected by my family or myſelf if
" we continued at Paris: I conſequently
" wiſhed to leave the town; and not being
" able to do it publicly, I reſolved to ſet out
" at night, and without attendants.

" It was not my intention to go out of
" the kingdom. I did not concert this
" plan either with foreign powers or with
" my relations, or with any other French-
" man who had left the kingdom. I might
" give as a proof of my intention, that apart-
" ments were prepared at Montmedy for the
" reception of myſelf and family.

" I choſe that place, becauſe, as it was forti-
" fied, my family would have been ſafe there;
" and being near the frontiers, I ſhould
" have been more at hand to oppoſe every
" ſort of invaſion that might be attempted
" on France, and to go myſelf wherever I
" might think there was any danger.

" Laſtly, I choſe Montmedy as the firſt
" place to reſt in, till I ſhould have found it
" con-

" convenient to go to ſuch other part of the " kingdom as might appear to me more " ſuitable.

" One of my principal motives for quit- " ting Paris, *was to overthrow the argu- " ment drawn from my not being at liberty, " which might become a freſh ſource of " commotion.*

" If it had been my intention to go out " of the kingdom, I ſhould not have pub- " liſhed my memorial on the very day of " my departure, but have waited till I was " beyond the frontiers.

" I cheriſhed the deſire of returning to " Paris. It is in this ſenſe that the laſt ſen- " tence of my memorial muſt be under- " ſtood, where I ſay, *Frenchmen, and par- " ticularly you Pariſians, what pleaſure " ſhall I have in being again in the midſt " of you!*

" I carried with me only 13,000 livres in " gold, and 56,000 livres in aſſignats in the " port folio which was ſent to me by the " Department.

" I appriſed MONSIEUR of my depar- " ture but a very ſhort time previous to its " taking place. He went out of the king- " dom, only becauſe we agreed not to take

"the ſame road, and he was afterwards to "join me in France.

"I gave orders a few days before my de- "parture to the three perſons who went "with me as couriers to prepare themſelves "with the dreſs of couriers to carry diſ- "patches; it was not till the evening of my "ſetting out that I verbally gave directions "to one of them to get ready.

"The paſſport was neceſſary to facilitate "my journey. It was taken for a foreign "country, only becauſe none were given at "the office for foreign affairs for the inte- "terior of the kingdom, nor did I take the "road for Frankfort as mentioned in it.

"I never made any proteſt but that con- "tained in the Memorial I wrote at my de- "parture: and that proteſt and the contents "of the Memorial *do not refer to the prin- "ciples of the Conſtitution, but to the form "of the ſanctions, that is to ſay, to the "little liberty I ſeemed to enjoy, and to the "circumſtances of the decrees not being all "preſented together, ſo that I could not "judge of the whole of the Conſtitution.*

"The principal blame contained in the "Memorial refers to the difficulties in the "means of adminiſtration and execution.

" *I found in the courſe of my journey that*
" *the public opinion was decidedly in fa-*
" *vour of the Conſtitution. I did not*
" *think that I could have fully acquainted*
" *myſelf with this opinion in Paris; but*
" *from the ideas I have perſonally acquired*
" *on the road, I am convinced how neceſſary*
" *it was for the proſperity of the Conſtitu-*
" *tion to give force to the powers eſta-*
" *bliſhed to maintain public order.*"

" The moment I was ſatisfied that it was
" the general will, I did not heſitate, nor
" did I ever heſitate, to make a ſacrifice of
" all that individually concerned myſelf to
" the happineſs of the people, which has
" ever been the firſt object of my wiſhes.
" I ſhall willingly forget all the diſagree-
" able things I have experienced, to reſtore
" the peace and tranquillity of the Nation."

The King, on reading over this Declaration, obſerved, " that he had omitted to ſay " that his ſon's governeſs and her woman " had been deſired to get ready but a very " ſhort time before his departure." He then ſigned it with the Commiſſioners.

From the King the Commiſſioners went

to the Queen's apartment; but ſhe was juſt gone to bathe, and ſent to inform them that ſhe would receive them at eleven o'clock next morning. They returned at the hour appointed, and her Majeſty gave them her Declaration in the ſame form as the King had given his, and in the following words:

" I declare, that as the King deſired to " remove with his children, nothing in na- " ture ſhould have prevented me from ac- " companying him. I have on ſeveral oc- " caſions within the laſt two years ſuffi- " ciently proved that I never will leave him. " This determination was ſtill ſtronger, from " the poſitive aſſurance I had that the King " had no intention to quit the kingdom. " Had it been his deſire, I ſhould have em- " ployed all my power to diſſuade him from " it.

" My ſon's governeſs had been indiſpoſed " for three weeks, and received orders to " get ready but a very little time before the " journey. She did not know where we " were going. She took no clothes with " her, and I was myſelf obliged to lend her " ſome.

" Neither

" Neither did the three couriers know " where we were going, or the object of the " journey. On the way, money was given " to them to pay for the horſes, and they " then received orders as to the road. The " two chambermaids were informed at the " very moment of our departure, and one of " them, whoſe huſband was in the palace, " had not time to ſee him.

" MONSIEUR and MADAME were to join " us in France, and only went out of the " kingdom to prevent any difficulty or want " of horſes in taking the ſame road. We " went out of the Palace through *M. de* " *Villequier's* apartments, taking the pre- " caution to go ſeparately, and at certain in- " tervals of time*."

Neither the profound veneration which I feel for the virtues of *Louis XVI.* nor the religious reſpect with which his misfortunes have veiled his errors, muſt tempt me to conceal that his faithful ſervants, the true friends of his glory and of his dignity, read with extreme ſorrow in his declarations ſome paſſages, the ſincerity of which it was impoſ-

* See the original of the two Declarations, Appendix, No. xx.

ſible not to ſuſpect *. The mouths of Kings ſhould be at all times, and in all circumſtances, the pureſt organs of truth and good faith. But in making theſe reflections, which will certainly be conſidered as ſevere, let me proclaim, that the paſſages of the King's declaration, which give riſe to them, did not originate with his Majeſty. They were ſent to him by the leaders of the Conſtitutional party, who ſaw no other means of averting the deſign, which began to be openly talked of, of bringing their Majeſties to a trial. I may farther add, that had not this execrable deſign been equally directed againſt the Queen, the King would have been offended with any one who ſhould have dared to counſel him to make ſuch a declaration; and never would have conſented to belie his ſentiments and his conſcience, in order to eſcape a danger that threatened only himſelf. The Commiſſioners on leaving the Queen went to the Aſſembly, and there read their minutes, containing theſe declarations. Several expreſſions in that of the King drew from the *Coté-Gauche* indecent exclamations, and rude burſts of laughter. That of the Queen

* The paſſages alluded to are printed in Italics.

was

was ſtill oftener interrupted by murmurs.—Both were depoſited in the archives, to be produced when wanted by the Committee charged with the general report of this affair.

The laſt Sittings of the month of June were almoſt wholly employed either in receiving different Deputations, ſent on the late events to teſtify to the Aſſembly fidelity, reſpect, admiration, and ſo forth; or in reading patriotic letters, and addreſſes from Departments, Municipalities, and Clubs, expreſſive of the ſame ſentiments. In the number of the letters, one from the Count *d'Eſtaing* was obſerved to be among the moſt ridiculous. Being confined to his room by ſome complaint, and not chooſing to leave the leaſt doubt of his ardour to take the new oath, he was not content with ſending it to his Section, but addreſſed it to the Aſſembly in a letter, which he concluded thus:—*As Lieutenant-General and Vice-Admiral, I ſerve my Country by land and ſea——Oh! that there were another element in which I could fight for the Conſtitution, and acquit myſelf of all the duties of a Citizen!*

The reading of theſe diſguſting flatteries was interrupted, to attend to a letter from the Magiſtrates of the Department of Ardennes, and to a copy of ſome of the minutes of the diſtrict of Montmedy, relative to the arreſt of three Officers of the Regiment of *Royal-Allemand*. To the minutes were annexed ſeveral papers found upon them. The moſt remarkable was an order from the King, ſignifying, "That, as his "Majeſty intended to be at Montmedy on "the 20th of June, *M. de Bouillé* was or-"dered to ſtation troops in the propereſt "places, upon the road from Chalons "on the Marne to Montmedy, for the "ſafety of the King and his Family, and "that he was anſwerable for the orders he "ſhould give."

The papers, which ſhewed clearly that the King had no intention of going farther than Montmedy, were referred to the Committee. With regard to the Officers who had been arreſted, the Aſſembly decreed, that they ſhould be immediately removed to Paris; but the conſideration of the danger they might be expoſed to on the road, at a moment when the people were in the moſt violent

violent fermentation, induced them to revoke this Decree. It was ordered, that they ſhould remain in the place where they were arreſted, if it was ſecure, or removed to the neareſt town*.

Some of the addreſſes ſent to the Aſſembly on this occaſion, particularly that from the Department of *Laiſne*, expreſſed a wiſh that the education of the Dauphin ſhould be truſted to a Governor appointed by the Aſſembly, *to ſave him from the corruption of Courts;* and the Committee of the Conſtitution had been charged to propoſe a ſyſtem of moral and political education for the Heir Apparent; but this important work, which certainly merited the greateſt conſideration, was not yet begun. It was much eaſier to decide upon the mode of executing the Decree by which the Aſſembly had empowered themſelves to appoint the Governor for the Dauphin. There were, notwithſtanding, great debates upon this occaſion; and principally upon the queſtion, whether

* Before this ſecond Decree arrived at Verdun, the Magiſtrates of the Department of Ardennes had already ſent off the Officers for Paris.

the

the members of the Aſſembly ſhould be eligible or not; and it was not till after a long diſcuſſion that the following articles were decreed:

" Art. 1. Before the Aſſembly proceed to " the nomination of a Governor, who ſhall " be appointed proviſionally, to the Pre- " ſumptive Heir of the Crown, a liſt ſhall " be made out of the Citizens who appear " proper for this office.

" Art. 2. To form the liſt, the members " of the Aſſembly ſhall retire into the dif- " ferent office-rooms, and proceed to ballot. " The names of thoſe balloted for in each " office ſhall be delivered to two Secretaries, " and a liſt of all who obtained votes ſhall " be reported to the Aſſembly and " printed.

" Art. 3. The election ſhall be made in- " dividually, and by the majority of votes. " Votes may be given, not only for perſons " on the liſt, but for all other Citizens, " except the members of the preſent Aſ- " ſembly.

" Art. 4. The Governor, in the preſence of " the National Aſſembly, ſhall take an oath " to

" to the Nation, to attend religiouſly to the " preſervation of the life and health of the " Heir Apparent, and ſhall anſwer for his " perſon."

The other articles of the plan propoſed by the Committee were adjourned.

Theſe factious, barbarous, and inſolent men were not ſatisfied with having deprived *Louis XVI.* of all the rights and of all the functions of Royalty; with confining him; with having ſubjected him to the humiliation of giving an account of his conduct to Commiſſioners; and with having expoſed him to the groſs inſults of the populace: they determined alſo to deprive him of that ſacred right which nature and every law human and divine have beſtowed upon all fathers, that of rearing and educating their children, and of truſting them only to perſons of their own choice.

This diſcuſſion ſhocked the members of the *Coté-Droit* to ſuch a degree, that they could no longer preſerve that mournful ſilence which they had impoſed upon themſelves ſince the King's arreſt. One of them (the Marquis *de Foucault Lardimale*) declared, that he ſhould think himſelf moſt criminal,

criminal, if he took the leaſt part in this deciſion, or in the election which the Aſſembly propoſed to take upon themſelves. *And ſo ſhould I,* cried at once all the worthy Repreſentatives of the French Nobility.

How painful muſt it have been for them, in ſo critical a moment, to ſee themſelves reduced to a ſituation in which it was abſolutely impoſſible for them to give the King any other proof of being devoted to him, than that of annihilating themſelves in a manner, leſt they ſhould augment his danger by undertaking his defence, or oppoſe his intentions from not knowing them! for his Majeſty never opened his mind to them, and thus, by not directing their zeal, loſt the important ſervices which they might have rendered him. It muſt alſo be obſerved, that from the end of July 1789 it became impoſſible for the King to have the leaſt communication direct or private with any member of the Aſſembly, and eſpecially with the Deputies of the Nobility. It would have immediately marked them as *ſold to the Court and Deſpotiſm; as Conſpirators*, and ſo forth: and this fatal diſtinction would have expoſed them continually to attacks from the mob, which the word *Ariſto-*

crat

crat enabled them to make with impunity. Indirect communications were likewiſe as impracticable; becauſe they would have required intermediate agents in whom complete confidence could be placed; and it was as difficult for *Louis XVI.* to find ſuch men at Court, as to ſeek them elſewhere. But, indeed, the paſſive and ſilent part adopted by the members of the *Coté-Droit*, after the arreſt of the Royal Family, was certainly the moſt eſſential ſervice they could render their Majeſties. If they had acted, if they had ſpoken, they would have increaſed the irritation of the people, and the power of the Republican party, who wiſhed to bring the King to a trial. Upon this occaſion, they concerted their plan of conduct with the leaders of the Conſtitutional party, who wiſhed to ſave the King, but who neither would nor could do it without having the ſtrongeſt aſſurance that the *Coté-Droit* would take no part in the debate, but confine themſelves to voting for their plan of decree when put to the vote. Nothing leſs than a criſis ſo dangerous for the Royal Family could induce the pure Royaliſts to form a temporary union with the Factious, who had overturned the Throne, to eſtabliſh upon

its ruins their pretended Monarchical Conſtitution; and who wiſhed to preſerve the King merely to maintain it, and to prevent the Republican party from triumphing.

During this negotiation between the Conſtitutionaliſts and the Royaliſts, *M. de Bouillé*, who had fled to Luxembourg, diſmayed at the diſaſtrous iſſue of the departure of the Royal Family for Montmedy, and ſhuddering with horror at the idea of the crimes which might be the conſequence of this unhappy event, endeavoured to give it a turn favourable to their Majeſties, and to draw the whole rage of the Jacobins and of the People upon himſelf alone. For this purpoſe he wrote his celebrated letter to the Aſſembly, in which he declared that he was the ſole author and inſtigator of the King's departure*; and that he could not prevail upon the King to leave Paris, but by perſuading him that it was the only means by which he could ſave France from the civil and foreign war with which it was threatened.

This letter, which was read to the Aſſembly on the 30th of June, contained the juſteſt

* See Appendix, No. xxi.

juſteſt cenſure upon their conduct, but in the moſt violent ſtyle, and concluded with threats too extravagant to alarm thoſe to whom they were addreſſed, who turned them into ridicule, and regarded them as mere bravadoes. It is certain, however, that this letter made a very general impreſſion in favour of the King, on the minds of thoſe who were the moſt exaſperated againſt him, which was the end *M. de Bouillé* had chiefly in view when he wrote it.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Incendiary Writings and Placards denounced to the Aſſembly—Ridiculous Liſt of Perſons to fill the Office of Governor to the Dauphin — Declaration of the Members of the Coté-Droit—Remarkable Letter from the Abbé Sieyes—Criminal Conduct of M. de la Fayette in reſpect to the Royal Family—He is denounced to the Aſſembly, who paſs to the Order of the Day — Friendly Note from the King of Spain to the Aſſembly relative to the Situation of Louis XVI—The Inſolence with which this Note is treated —Removal of Voltaire's Body to the Pantheon—Report of the Committees relative to the King's departure for Montmedy—Debates between the Republican Party and the Conſtitutional Party, the latter of whom declare in the King's favour—Manœuvres

ures of the Jacobins—The Conſtitutional Party prevail—Decree—Rage of the Jacobin Club—They enter into a Reſolution to acknowledge the King no longer—Riot —Places of public Amuſement ſhut up—Several Deputies inſulted—Denunciation of theſe Exceſſes to the Aſſembly.

WHILE the united Committees of the Aſſembly * were preparing their report on the events of the 21ſt of June, the people, in a ſtate of continual agitation, ſtimulated by a multitude of incendiary writings, by the moſt furious orators, and by all the manœuvres of the Republican party, thought themſelves authoriſed to anticipate the judgment of their Repreſentatives upon this pretended conſpiracy. Their wiſh for the abolition of Royalty was clamorouſly expreſſed by all the groups aſſembled at the *Palais-Royal*, and by numberleſs placards ſtuck up on the very doors and in the paſſages of the Aſſembly.—*M. Malouet* ſeeing one of theſe papers as he entered the Hall, tore it down, and, carrying

* Seven in number, viz. Military, Diplomatic, of the Conſtitution, of Reviſion, of Criminal Juriſprudence, of Reports, and of Inquiry.

it in, denounced it. He moved the Aſſembly to give orders inſtantly to the Public Accuſer, to the Adminiſtrative Bodies, and to the Courts to which the cognizance of ſimilar crimes belonged, to proſecute the authors of this placard. All the members of the *Coté-Droit* roſe at once to ſupport the motion.—The advocate *Martineau* moved, that thoſe who had ſigned the paper ſhould be immediately arreſted. Being interrupted by violent murmurs from the *Coté-Gauche*, and by ſome voices calling for the order of the day, he cried with indignation—"How! the order of "the day!"—"To the *Abbaye!* To the *Ab-*"*baye!*" cried they. "It is infamous," he replied, "to leave ſuch crimes unpuniſhed." *Petion* repreſented, that if they attended to ſuch denunciations, ſimilar ones would be made every day. *Chabroud*, who in his report on the crimes of the 6th of October 1789 had found no blame but in the *Gardes-du Corps*, could only perceive in the denounced paper *a trifling act of folly or delirium beneath the attention of the Aſſembly, who ought not, by hearing and diſcuſſing ſuch productions, to loſe the time they ſhould beſtow on finiſhing the Conſtitution, and accelerating the happineſs of the people.* He therefore

ſupported

ſupported the motion for paſſing to the order of the day. The Galleries by the moſt lively applauſes ſhowed that they were of the ſame opinion, and the Aſſembly adopted it.

In the following Sitting the reſult of the ballot preparatory to the nomination of a Governor for the Dauphin was read. The number of perſons returned as worthy of the office amounted to 92. This liſt, drawn up in alphabetical order, brought together characters ſo heterogeneous and ridiculous, that it created a great deal of laughter. It was compoſed of Lawyers, Doctors, Commanders of the battalions of the Pariſian National Guard, ancient Magiſtrates, Poets, *Procureurs-Syndics* of the Departments, Judges, Directors of Colleges, Monks, Dramatic Authors, &c. &c. The name of the Prince *de Conti* was alſo found in it, as was that of the Duke of *Harcourt*, between thoſe of two Advocates-General, (*Guiton de Morveaux*, and *Heraut de Sechelles*,) that of *M. Maleſherbes* was next to that of the Treaſurer of the Highways, and that of *Noël* the Editor of a Revolutionary Journal, between thoſe of Mr. *Necker* and *M. d'Ormeſſon*; but the name that created the greateſt agita-

tion was that of the Marquis *de Bouillé*. The members of the *Coté-Gauche* could not reſtrain their rage. "He who dared to "offer that name," cried *Rewbell*, "de- "ſerves to be expelled the Legiſlative "Body." The Aſſembly ordered the name of *M. de Bouillé* to be eraſed, and adjourned the final ballot for a fortnight. This adjournment was judged neceſſary, on account of the ſarcaſms and ridicule which the liſt could not fail to excite.

Very different was the liſt of the members of the *Coté-Droit*, who publiſhed, at the ſame period, declarations, the object of which was to manifeſt their ſentiments, and the motives of their ſilence in the Aſſembly. It is the part of hiſtory to collect theſe honourable acts, as ſo many monuments of courage and fidelity. One of theſe declarations, graced with 290 ſignatures, was couched in the following terms:

"In the midſt of the inſults offered to "the Monarch and to his auguſt Family, "and in their perſons to the Nation at "large, what is the Monarchy become? "The Decrees of the National Aſſembly "have concentrated in themſelves the "whole

" whole Regal Authority: the State Seal
" has been laid upon their table; their De-
" crees are to be put in execution, without
" requiring the ſanction; they give direct
" orders to all the Agents of the Executive
" Power; they cauſe oaths to be admini-
" ſtered in their name, in which Frenchmen
" no longer find even the name of their
" King; Commiſſioners appointed by them
" alone, are going through the Provinces
" to adminiſter the oaths they exact, and to
" give orders to the Army: thus, at the
" moment that the inviolability of the ſacred
" perſon of the Monarch was annihilated,
" the Monarchy was deſtroyed; even the
" appearance of Royalty no longer exiſts;
" a Republican interregnum is ſubſtituted in
" its ſtead.

" Far be it from thoſe who know the
" rules of our conduct, and we dare hope
" that there are few Frenchmen who are
" not ſatisfied with them, to imagine that
" we could have conſented to thoſe Decrees!
" They are not only contrary to our princi-
" ples, but they grieve our hearts. Never
" did we more painfully feel the rigour of
" our duty, or more lament the fatal conſe-

" quences drawn from the miſſion with
" which we are charged, than when we
" were compelled to witneſs acts which ap-
" peared criminal outrages to us; than
" when our chief ſpeakers, become unable,
" for the firſt time, were compelled to con-
" demn themſelves to ſilence, that they
" might not involve ſo ſacred a cauſe in
" the contumely our adverſaries have but
" too well ſucceeded in caſting upon us.

" Before the diſaſtrous period at which
" we are arrived, we could at leaſt embrace
" the phantom of the Monarchy; we com-
" bated for its wrecks, and the hope of
" preſerving it juſtified our endeavours.—
" Now, the laſt blow has been given to
" the Monarchy; but, deprived of this great
" motive, duties of another kind preſent
" themſelves. The Monarch exiſts—He is
" a captive. It is for the intereſt of the
" King we muſt rally; it is for him, for
" his family—it is for the loved blood of
" the *Bourbons*, that we ſhould remain at
" a poſt where we may watch over ſo pre-
" cious a depoſit. We will, therefore, ſtill
" perform this ſacred duty, which alone
" muſt be our excuſe; and we will thus

" prove

" prove that in our hearts the Monarch and " the Monarchy are inſeparable from each " other.

" But while we perform this urgent duty, " let not our Conſtituents expect that we " ſhall interfere in any ſubject foreign to it. " When a ſingle intereſt can force us to ſit " with thoſe who have erected an irregu- " lar Republic upon the ruins of the " Monarchy, it is to that ſingle intereſt we " devote ourſelves entirely. From this " moment a profound ſilence on whatever is " not relative to it will mark our ſorrow, " and be at the ſame time the only expreſ- " ſion of our conſtant oppoſition to all the " decrees.

" Conſequently, we ſhall continue, from " the ſole motive of not abandoning the in- " tereſts of the King's perſon and thoſe of " the Royal Family, to attend the delibera- " tions of the National Aſſembly; but as " we cannot approve their principles, nor " acknowledge the lawfulneſs of their de- " crees, we ſhall henceforth take no part in " deliberations which do not relate ſolely " to thoſe intereſts which remain for us to " defend."

In the Sitting of the 5th of July, *M. de Foucault* attempted to read this declaration; but at the firſt words he was interrupted by cries and murmurs ſo violent, that the Preſident could not put an end to them but by breaking up the Sitting. Thoſe that ſigned this declaration then determined to make it public by printing it; and they cauſed a vaſt number of copies to be diſtributed in the Capital and in the Provinces*. The general approbation which it obtained, proved a protection againſt the fury of the Republican Party, and againſt all their efforts to excite the ſeverity of the Aſſembly againſt this ſtep. *Rewbell*, being called to order ſome days after in the diſcuſſion of a plan for a decree againſt the Emigrants†, angrily anſwered: "I am found fault with for one unguarded "word, while nothing is ſaid of a produc-"tion I hold in my hand, which is diſ-"tributed every where, and which contains "principles the moſt deſtructive to the ſo-

* At this period *M. de Bonnai*, *M. de Serent*, *M. de Cazalès*, and *M. Montloſier* vacated their ſeats.

† Sitting of the 9th of July.—It was decreed, that the Emigrants not returning in the courſe of a month ſhould pay triple taxes for the year 1791.

"vereignty

" vereignty of the Nation. I ſpeak of the " declaration made by ſeveral Members of " this Aſſembly." Although this denunciation was ſeveral times applauded by the Members of the *Coté-Gauche* and by the Galleries, the Aſſembly had the prudence not to take it up.

At the ſame time that the declarations of the loyal Deputies fixed the public attention, and intereſted every honeſt man, by ſhowing them the principles and ſentiments in which all good Frenchmen ſhould unite, the Abbé *Sieyes*, being accuſed in ſome pamphlets of having changed his opinion, and of endeavouring to draw over partiſans to the Republican ſyſtem, publiſhed his Monarchical principles, and the grounds of them, in a letter which he ſent to the newſpapers*. His conduct ſince renders this letter ſo remarkable, that I cannot diſpenſe with reporting its principal paſſages:

" It is ſaid by many that I am taking ad- " vantage of our preſent ſituation to em- " brace Republicaniſm. Hitherto no one

* See the *Moniteur* of Wedneſday the 6th of July 1791, under the article *Varietés*.

" has

" has ever thought of accuſing me of too
" much flexibility in my principles, or
" of changing my opinion eaſily, to ſuit
" the faſhion of the times. Honeſt men,
" to whom alone I can addreſs myſelf, have
" but three ways of judging of the ſenti-
" ments of any perſon; by his actions, his
" words, and his writings. I offer theſe
" three kinds of proof. *It is not to flatter*
" *ancient cuſtoms, nor through any ſuper-*
" *ſtitious regard to Royalty, that I prefer*
" *Monarchy. I prefer it becauſe it is clear*
" *to me, that the citizen enjoys more liberty*
" *under a Monarchy than in a Republic.*
" *Every other motive of preference appears*
" *puerile to me. The beſt ſocial ſyſtem, in*
" *my opinion, is that by which not one, or*
" *only a few, but all tranquilly enjoy the*
" *greateſt poſſible latitude of liberty. If I*
" *diſcern this character in the Monarchical*
" *ſtate, it is clear that I ought to prefer it*
" *above all others.* This is the whole ſecret
" of my principles and my profeſſion of faith
" fairly laid before you. I ſhall perhaps ſoon
" have time to diſcuſs this queſtion—*and I*
" *hope to prove, not that Monarchy is pre-*
" *ferable in any particular circumſtances,*

" *but*

" *but that in every caſe men are freer*
" *under it than in a Republic* *."

Meanwhile the Royal Family, ſhut up in the Tuileries †, and ſurrounded night and day

* On repand beaucoup que je profite dans ce moment de notre poſition pour tourner au Républicaniſme. Juſqu'à préſent on ne s'étoit pas aviſé de m'accuſer de trop de flexibilité dans mes principes, ni de changer facilement d'opinion au gré du temps. Pour les hommes de bonne foi, les ſeuls auxquels je puiſſe m'adreſſer, il n'y a que trois moyens de juger des ſentimens de quelqu'un ; ſes actions, ſes paroles, et ſes écrits. J'offre ces trois ſortes de preuves. *Ce n'eſt ni pour careſſer d'anciennes habitudes, ni par aucun ſentiment ſuperſtitieux de Royaliſme que je préfere la Monarchie. Je la préfere parcequ'il m'eſt démontré qu'il y a plus de liberté pour le citoyen dans la Monarchie que dans la République. Tout autre motif de détermination me paroit puérile. Le meilleur regime ſocial eſt, à mon avis, celui où non pas un, non pas quelques-uns ſeulement, mais où tous jouiſſent tranquillement de la plus grande latitude de liberté poſſible. Si j'apperçois ce caractere dans l'état Monarchique, il eſt clair que je dois le vouloir par deſſus tout autre. Voilà tout le ſecret de mes principes, et ma profeſſion de foi bien faite. J'aurai peut-être bientôt le temps de développer cette queſtion—et j'eſpere prouver, non que la Monarchie eſt préférable dans telle ou telle poſition, mais que dans toutes les hypotheſes on y eſt plus libre que dans la République.*"

† The Dauphin alone was permitted to go out. The National

day by a numerous guard, in whom they could ſee but jailors and ſpies in regimentals, found the rigours of their captivity aggravated by new precautions, as barbarous as they were uſeleſs. None but the Members of the Aſſembly had a right of entering the Palace without the permiſſion of *M. de la Fayette*, and they were obliged to ſhow their tickets, as Deputies, to the guard. The Members of the *Coté-Droit* uſed this privilege as often as poſſible. They ſaw with a melancholy ſatisfaction how much their Majeſties were pleaſed at it. The Royal Family appeared in ſeeing them to forget all their troubles, and to find in their looks the conſolation of hope. *M. de la Fayette* was pleaſed to take umbrage at this; and upon his own authority gave orders to the Guard to refuſe the Deputies entrance into the Tuileries, even if they ſhowed their tickets. His friends juſtified this order by ſaying, that it was given becauſe ſome Deputies lent their cards to ſuſ-

National Guard preſented arms to him. The People ſaluted him as he paſſed; and repeated this ſentence which had been dictated to them: *It is the Son; it is not the Father.*

pected

pected perſons; and that ſeveral Members of the Aſſembly had often remained ſo late at the Tuileries as to alarm the National Guard. This inſolent order was announced to the Aſſembly by the Preſident, in the Sitting of the 10th of July, and excited as much indignation in the Members of the *Coté-Droit*, as it did joy among the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*. *So much the better! It was very proper!* cried the latter. "I "think," ſaid *M. d'Ambly*, "that it is "beneath the dignity of the Aſſembly to "receive orders from any one: if they "chooſe that their Members ſhould not "enter the Tuileries, they have but to de-"cree it." *M. Malouet* was more vehement in declaiming againſt this outrage: "What does this order mean?" ſaid he. "Are we not permitted to go to the King?" He was anſwered, "No, no." "By what "right, by what authority? I, for one, will "go." Several Members of the *Coté-Droit* expreſſed the ſame ſentiment with equal warmth. "I move," ſaid *M. de Montloſier*, "that *M. de la Fayette* be "ordered to the bar, to give an account of "his conduct. He ſhall be reſponſible for "the outrages offered to the King and his

"auguſt

" auguſt Family. I undertake to proſecute
" him. It is ſhocking that ſentinels ſhould
" be placed upon the very roof of the
" Palace." The moſt noiſy clamours and
murmurs prevented him from ſaying more;
and the Aſſembly decreed, that it was not
M. de Montloſier's turn to ſpeak, and
paſſed to the order of the day.

M. Malouet's exclamation was, and will remain for ever, a bitter and unanſwerable argument againſt *M. de la Fayette* and his panegyriſts, if he ſtill has any. In fact, *by what right, by what authority*, did this General of the Bourgeois Militia, converting the Palace of our King into a priſon, dare to keep the Royal Family cloſely confined, to conſtitute himſelf their Majeſties' jailer, and to take upon him to multiply vexations inſults, and indignities, which even the jailer of the Bicêtre would not have dared to inflict on his priſoners without orders from his ſuperiors? Whence then had *M. de la Fayette* his orders and powers? He had never any but thoſe contained in the firſt, ſecond, and fourth articles of the decree of the 25th of June; and by them a guard was to be appointed for the King, the Queen, and the Dauphin; *which guard, under the orders of the*

the Commander-in-Chief, were to attend to the ſafety of their Majeſties, and to be reſponſible for their perſons. The reſponſibility impoſed upon this guard did not even reach *M. de la Fayette:* he might doubtleſs have joined them, but he ought not, at leaſt only ſo far as to ſecure, according to the decree paſſed in the night between the 22d and 23d of June, the maintenance of *the reſpect and regard due to the Royal dignity.* Neither ought he to have forgotten that the Aſſembly, far from intending to make the Royal Family priſoners by the decree of the 25th of June, had been generally ſhocked at the bare idea of *holding their Majeſties in a ſtate of arreſt;* and that theſe laſt expreſſions which eſcaped from *Roederer,* had excited a general cry of indignation againſt him. Such was the duty of the Commander of the National Guard. What can ever juſtify his exceeding it in ſo criminal a manner? The Aſſembly ought certainly to have puniſhed him for it when his new order was denounced to them; and in paſſing to the order of the day they did not extenuate *M. de la Fayette*'s crime, they only augmented the number of his accomplices.

The

The order of the day in this Sitting was to inſult crowned heads, as groſsly as audaciouſly. We may judge, by the reception given by the Aſſembly to the friendly note which the King of Spain ſent to them relative to the ſituation of *Louis XVI.* and the Royal Family. This note, delivered by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador to *M. de Montmorin*, to be communicated to the Aſſembly from his Catholic Majeſty, was couched in theſe terms:

" The retreat of the moſt Chriſtian King " and his family from Paris, and his de- " ſigns, although ſtill unknown to his Ca- " tholic Majeſty, might and cannot but " have been occaſioned by the neceſſity of " delivering himſelf from the inſults of the " populace, which the preſent Aſſembly and " the Municipality have not been able to " prevent or to puniſh, and the intention of " ſeeking a place of ſafety, where the So- " vereign and the true and legitimate Repre- " ſentatives of the Nation might hold their " deliberations with that liberty of which " they had hitherto been deprived; of " which there are inconteſtable proofs.

" It is in this ſenſe, in that of the moſt in- " timate

" timate Ally of France, of a near relation
" and friend of her King, and as her neareſt
" neighbour, that his Majeſty takes the
" greateſt intereſt in the happineſs and in-
" ternal tranquillity of the French Nation;
" and that, far from having a thought of
" diſturbing them, he has taken the reſolu-
" tion of exhorting the French; and he con-
" jures them to reflect coolly upon the ſtep
" which their Sovereign has been compelled
" to take; to conſider the provoking cir-
" cumſtances which may have given cauſe
" to it; to reſpect the high dignity of his
" ſacred perſon, his liberty, and his privi-
" lege, and that of all the Royal Family;
" and to aſſure themſelves, that if the
" French Nation diſcharge theſe duties, as
" the King hopes, they will find in the con-
" duct of his Catholic Majeſty the ſame
" ſentiments of friendſhip and good-will
" which he has conſtantly teſtified to them,
" and which, in every reſpect better ſuits
" his ſituation than any other meaſure
" whatſoever.

" At Aranjuez, July 1ſt 1791.

" True copies, being compared with the
" original.

" Paris, July 9th 1791. Signed *Montmorin*."

During the reading of this note the members of the *Coté-Gauche* and the Galleries ſeveral times broke out into murmurs, and the moſt indecent peals of laughter, which were redoubled when it was concluded. To put a ſtop to thoſe impertinences, or rather to add another to them, and before the Aſſembly entered upon the diſcuſſion of the note from the Court of Spain, they read a letter from the clerks of a petty charitable inſtitution, who ſent them the ſum of 821 *livres* 5 *ſols* for the pay of three men for the National Guards during a year, and this act of patriotiſm obtained the greateſt applauſes. *Rabaud de St. Etienne* then ſpoke: "We have," ſaid he, "heard a note read, in which the King "of Spain appears to manifeſt his deſire "ſtill to live in good underſtanding."— "What! what!" cried out ſeveral voices from the *Coté-Gauche:* "The order of the day! "The order of the day."—"I do not think," replied he, "that when the Miniſter and "Diplomatic Committee communicate to "you a paper, which appears to indicate "arrangements relative to your affairs, "you ought to paſs on to the order of the "day. I move that you declare, that as "the Aſſembly do not mean to meddle with

" the affairs of any Foreign Nation, the " French Nation will never ſuffer any other " Nation to meddle with theirs. This is " the ſpirit of the anſwer which *M. de* " *Montmorin* ought to be deſired to re- " turn." Enthuſiaſtic applauſes announced the ſucceſs of this motion. The Aſſembly, after a very ſhort diſcuſſion, paſſed to the order of the day, and ſent back the King of Spain's letter to the Committee that had preſented it.

It was but natural and conſiſtent, that the period when the Altar and the Throne were overturned in France, ſhould prove a period of glory for the guilty authors whoſe poiſoned pens had prepared and accelerated thoſe ſad events. The Aſſembly had decreed the honours of the Pantheon to *Voltaire*; and his aſhes were removed thither on the 11th of July, in a moſt pompous manner. The car which conveyed the body was drawn by twelve horſes, of a light grey colour, harneſſed four abreaſt, and led by men in antient dreſſes. Numerous detachments from all the battalions of the Pariſian National Guard opened and cloſed the proceſſion of the funeral, which ſet out at two o'clock in the afternoon, from the ſpot where the Baſ-

tille ſtood, continued along the Boulevard to the *Place Louis XV.* croſſed the *Pont-Royal*, ſtopped before *M. de Villete's** houſe, and oppoſite the *Comedie Françoiſe*, and proceeded to Ste. Genevieve. The immenſe retinue which attended this funeral was compoſed of Deputations from the National Aſſembly, from the Department, the Municipality, the Sections, Tribunals, Juſtices of Peace, Patriotic Societies or Clubs, Academies, Colleges, and the different Theatres of the Capital; the whole of the Jacobin Club; the Electors of 1789, the Conquerors of the Baſtille, a group of the Hectors of the Market, armed with pikes, and the villains who had arreſted the Royal Family at Varennes, and who marched in triumph in the midſt of the pageant, crowned with branches of oak. In the train were men in antique dreſſes, carrying the ſtatue of *Voltaire* on a frame. It was ſurrounded by pyramids crowded with medallions, on which the titles of his principal works appeared. Upon another frame was a gilt box, containing a copy of the laſt edition of his works publiſhed by *Beaumarchais*; round this box were the Literati. At certain

* A nephew of Voltaire.

diſtances

diſtances were placed different Revolutionary trophies, ſuch as the chains, balls, and cuiraſſes, found in the Baſtille; the colours, and plan of that fort in relief, carried by the workmen who had been employed to demoliſh it, and by the inhabitants of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine. Several full bands of muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental, attended the funeral, and hymns were chanted in praiſe of the philoſophic poet. This ceremony, or rather this Revolutionary Farce, honoured with the title of a National Feſtival, laſted near twelve hours, to the great ſcandal of all who ſtill preſerved any religious ideas, or ſentiments of morality and virtue. It was impoſſible to ſee without indignation, theſe honours, this idolatry, laviſhed on a man who had ſpent his life in ridiculing religion, and corrupting morals.

The Committees appointed to examine the papers and informations relating to the events of the 21ſt of June, at laſt, on the 12th of July, announced that they were prepared to make their report. The Aſſembly fixed the next day for taking it into conſideration, and proceeded to call over the names of the members, as had been decreed, to aſcertain the numbers of the abſent. The

reſult was, that the number of members preſent amounted to 1089, and that of the abſent to 132, among whom were ſeveral Deputies who were ill, or abſent on leave.

On the 13th, at the opening of the Sitting, a ſmall pamphlet profuſely diſtributed round the Hall by truly pious hands, fixed the attention of all the Deputies, and the reading of it diſtinguiſhed the moſt eſtimable from the moſt inveterate among them; the tears of ſenſibility flowed from the former, while the grimaces of malignity and fury betrayed the latter.

This work of the moment, entitled, "*The Reign of Louis XVI. preſented to the View of Europe,*" contained a rapid ſketch of what *Louis XVI.* had done for the Nation; the enfranchiſement of Serfs; the eſtabliſhment of Provincial Adminiſtrations; the ſuppreſſion of the *Corvées*; the abolition of torture; milder laws againſt deſertion; fraud and violence excluded in the enliſting of ſoldiers; the privilege of Citizens reſtored to proteſtants; the arts, ſciences, and commerce protected; the ſeeds of bloody wars deſtroyed in the North, in the Levant, at Vienna, and in Holland; the Iſland of Tobago re-united to our Antilles; the fiſhery at Newfoundland ſecured

ſecured and augmented; new poſſeſſions acquired in India; the treaty with Ruſſia; the peace of 1782 honourable to France and its Allies; the increaſe of our maritime power; works as uſeful as glorious carried on in the ports of Cherbourg, Dunkirk, Havre, Toulon, La Rochelle, &c. &c.; canals undertaken in Burgundy, Britany, Picardy, Berry, &c. &c.; the numerous marks of ſenſibility engraved on every heart; the double repreſentation granted to the *Tiers-Etat*; the magnanimity of *Louis XVI.*, who came with the tidings of peace to Paris, in the midſt of two hundred thouſand armed men in inſurrection, who enjoined his guards to devote themſelves, like him, to the welfare of the people, and to ſuffer death rather than oppoſe force to force; and who came to fix his reſidence in the midſt of a city inceſſantly agitated, and miſled by atrocious calumnies.—"All Europe knows," obſerved this worthy hiſtorian of *Louis XVI.* "with "what patience and courage this good "King, ſince his reſidence in the Capital, "has borne the ſufferings, the wants, and the "ſacrifices which circumſtances ſeemed to "require. After drinking during the courſe "of eighteen months the cup of bitterneſs,

" he fell ſick. As the ſpring advanced, " his health began to mend, and on the " 18th of April he wiſhed to change the " air, and go into the country. This was " violently oppoſed; his own perſon, his " conſort, his ſiſter, and his children, were " publicly and cruelly inſulted: laws were " even preſcribed to his conſcience. With " reſpect to the departure of the Royal " Family for Montmedy," added he, " if " that meaſure, which was thought to be " prudent and neceſſary by the King, was " ſubject to inconveniences, they can be " juſtly imputed only to thoſe who, con- " cealing from *Louis XVI.* for near two " years his true political ſituation, deceived " him, and deceived all France, and all " Europe; to thoſe, in a word, who, after " ſaying and repeating a thouſand times, " that the King was free and ought to be ſo, " now pretend it was a fiction, and lay it " down as a principle, that the King was " not free, and even that he ought not to " be free*; a mode of reaſoning, in fact, " which tends to deſtroy the Conſtitution,

* This was in fact the reaſoning of the whole Republican Party, and of a great number of the Conſtitutionaliſts.

" and

"and annul all that has been done. I boldly "appeal to all Frenchmen, and aſk them, if, "in return for the virtues, the civiſm of "the King, and his unbounded confidence "in their loyalty, they ever thought for a "ſingle inſtant, that they ſhould arrogate "to themſelves the horrid ſight of pillaging, "degrading, and dethroning him? I aſk "the Pariſians, if, becauſe, and perhaps for "them alone, the King determined to con-"voke the States-General, they underſtood "that they were to have the ſhameful right "of abuſing his love for them; that they "were to have that of tormenting, inſult-"ing, and enſlaving the beneficent Mo-"narch, who ſacrificed his power, his pre-"rogative, his happineſs, to the deſire of "preſerving and protecting them? Europe "waits the anſwers to theſe queſtions, and "the Genius of hiſtory is ready to engrave "them in indelible characters."

This work, rendered as intereſting by the motives which dictated it, as by the occaſion on which it was publiſhed, was the more worthy of notice and of the circumſtantial extract I have made from it, as the feelings which it occaſioned in the Aſſembly and the Capital prepared men's minds favourably

favourably for the important diſcuſſion of which I am going to give an account.

Muguet de Nanthou, who was the ſpeaker of the ſeven united Committees, recited in his report the particulars known reſpecting the departure of the Royal Family in the night from the Tuileries. The information and the different declarations received by the Committees proved, that on the 20th of June their Majeſties went to bed as uſual; that towards midnight the Royal Family having met together in a lower room, two unknown perſons went to them; that one of theſe handed *Mademoiſelle Brunier* and *Mademoiſelle Neuville*, the Queen's Chamber-maids, into the Princes' Court, put them into a carriage that was waiting there for them, and went with them to Claye, where they joined the Royal Family, and continued with them as far as Varennes; that the other unknown perſon conducted *Madame de Tourzel*, the Dauphin, and *Madame Royale* to the Quay of the Theatins, where a carriage was in waiting; that after a conſiderable time (about half an hour) the Queen and *Madame Elizabeth* came up to them on foot, and got into the ſame carriage, as did the King, who arrived ſome moments

moments afterwards, accompanied by *M. de Maldan*, one of the three *Gardes-du-Corps* who went with the Royal Family; that at St. Martin's gate their Majeſties went into a more commodious carriage, which *M. Du Moutier*, another *Garde-du-Corps*, had prepared for them, and drove without changing their coachman to Bondi, where they took poſt-horſes, which *M. de Valori*, the third *Garde-du-Corps*, had kept in readineſs; that the King had alighted from his carriage at different poſts; that he ſpoke to people whom he met, and appeared very unconcerned till the moment of his arreſt at Varennes, &c. &c.

After reporting all theſe facts, and an extract of all the minutes, which I have already cited, he ſtated and diſcuſſed the following queſtion: *Can the King be tried?* A very ſtrange queſtion, and which ten years before would have been regarded in France, as well as in every other Monarchical State, as a puniſhable blaſphemy. The reporter referred to ſome of the Decrees declared conſtitutional to ſolve it. "You have decreed," ſaid he, "you have ſworn to "maintain a Monarchical Conſtitution, and "the inviolability of the King, whom you "have

" have not conſidered as a Citizen, but as a
" Power. If the King were not independ-
" ent, if he might be judged by the Aſſem-
" bly, he would be ſubject to their con-
" trol; he would not be free. We cannot
" ſeparate the King from Royalty. If he
" commit a crime, we ſhould ſuppoſe him
" in a deranged ſtate of mind. His flight
" is not even an offence. You cannot de-
" termine it to be ſo without laws. Had
" he gone out of the kingdom, he would
" have incurred no forfeiture by the Con-
" ſtitution, till he ſhould have refuſed to com-
" ply with a previous proclamation inviting
" him to return. The declaration which
" he left bears no legal character, and con-
" tains no direct or indirect renunciation of
" Royalty. His acceptance was a formality
" of mere reſpect, and evidently unneceſſary
" to the validity of your Decrees. The
" King therefore is not guilty in the eye of
" the law; and even if he were, the invio-
" lability of his perſon would not ſuffer his
" being tried. But were I permitted to re-
" move for a moment the veil that conceals
" from us the events which would be the
" conſequence of a contrary opinion, you
" would ſee all the evils revive which af-

" flicted

" flicted England in the time of the Pre-
" tender, and desolated Russia under the reign
" of the infant *John*. You would again
" see all the troubles of the minority of
" *Louis XIV.* — a constant succession of
" civil and foreign wars; and amidst these
" disorders, a child scarcely out of his
" cradle, by turns the instrument and the
" victim of parties, intrigues, and factions;
" Regents too pointed out by the Law, but in
" whom there would now be no confidence."

All the censure of the Reporter and of the Committees was directed against the Marquis *de Bouillé*, who had declared himself, in his letter to the Assembly, the author and instigator of the plan for the King's departure; who, by alarming his Majesty, and instilling apprehensions into his mind, had succeeded in drawing the Royal Family from the Capital; and who had prepared and conducted the execution of the plan. The report accordingly concluded: " 1st, " That a prosecution should be instituted " against *M. de Bouillé* and his abettors, " accomplices, and adherents; particular-" ly against Messrs. *Heymann*, *Klinglin*, " *D'Offelise*, *Desoteux*, *Goguelas*, *Damas*, " *Choiseuil*

" *Choiſeuil-Stainville*, *Audouin*, *Velcour*, " *Mandel*, *Manaſſin*, *Talon*, *Bouillé* the " ſon, *Ferſen*, *Maldan*, *Valori*, and *Du* " *Moutier*, as ſuſpected of being acquainted " with the plot, and of entertaining deſigns " of favouring it: and that the perſons who " are accuſed, already arreſted or who may " be hereafter arreſted, ſhall be ſent to " Orleans to be tried there. 2dly, That " *Madame de Tourzel*, *M. de Briges*, the " King's Equerry, and four Officers of the " different regiments from which the de- " tachments ſtationed upon the road to Va- " rennes had been taken, ſhould remain in " a ſtate of arreſt, in order to be dealt with " according to the evidence that may ap- " pear. 3dly, That the two chamber- " maids ſhould be ſet at liberty."

After a ſilence of ſome moments, ſeveral Members deſired that the Report ſhould be printed; others propoſed that the diſcuſſion ſhould be adjourned, which the Conſtitutional Party ſtrongly oppoſed. " We can- " not be ignorant," ſaid *M. d'André*, " that " a claſs of people, who wiſh to ſeize the " occaſion of the King's departure to over- " turn the Conſtitution which they have

" ſworn

" ſworn to maintain, only want time to ſtir
" up ſome credulous perſons, ſome unin-
" formed men, who think that the over-
" turning of the Conſtitution will redound
" to their own perſonal advantage. Theſe,
" and I ſpeak it without fear, are only the
" factious, the intriguing, men of no
" talents."

M. d'André was very much applauded; but *Robeſpierre* was not leſs ſo in maintaining the contrary opinion. This inconſiſtency, of which a thouſand examples may be found in aſſemblies of every kind with which the Revolution has covered France, proves, as I have already ſaid, that in general the enthuſiaſm and the paſſions of the people are much leſs excited by a ſentence than a word, although they underſtand neither one nor the other; but they more eaſily retain and repeat a word, and each individual attaches his predominating idea to it; whereas they cannot retain a ſentence, or repeat it without mutilating it. Thus the popular movements which have been too often regarded in France as the effect of public opinion, had ſcarcely ever any connection with it. They were always excited by the factious, who took this

this mode of ſecuring ſucceſs to their projects *.

In the debates which aroſe in conſequence of the motion for adjournment, the Conſtitutional Party carried it by a very great majority, and the diſcuſſion of the merits of this important ſubject was opened without delay. *Pethion*, who ſpoke firſt, contended violently againſt the opinion of the Reporter. "The inviolability of the King," ſaid he, "can only be applied to acts of Royalty; "in all others he ought to be ſubject to the "Laws, without which he would be a deſ-"pot.—To enjoy perfect inviolability he "ſhould be infallible. He is, it is ſaid, a "Power, and a Power is not ſubject to "puniſhment. What wretched ſophiſtry! "Can he then murder with impunity? Shall

* I had opportunities of ſeeing and cloſely obſerving ſeveral inſurrections. I have often cauſed thoſe who ſeemed the buſieſt in the mob to be ſeparately queſtioned by confidential perſons. They had all the ſame *rallying word*, but each of them attached a different idea to it: ſo true it is that the people, ever abſorbed by their neceſſities, or hurried away by their paſſions, never can have an opinion, properly ſo called; for no opinion whatever can be formed but by reflection, and they are not in the habit of reflecting, neither have they time for it.

1 "a *Nero*,

"a *Nero*, or a *Caligula*, indulge their phrenſies, their ſanguinary taſte, and we reſpect them!——" A general ſhudder of indignation and horrour informed this villain that it was not of *Nero* but of *Louis XVI.* that he was ſpeaking; but he continued nearly in the ſame ſtyle, in ſpite of frequent murmurs. He concluded by moving, that the King ſhould be arraigned and tried by the National Aſſembly, or by a Convention appointed expreſsly for that purpoſe.

This motion, with which the Sitting concluded, obtained ſome applauſes from the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, but too few to alarm the *Coté-Droit;* who, true to the reſolution they had taken, kept a profound ſilence. This debate was continued in the two following Sittings. I ſhall not undertake to detail it: it is eaſy to imagine what the Conſtitutional ſpeakers, the *Liancourts*, *Lameths*, *Barnaves*, *Duports*, &c. &c. could ſay in defence of *Louis XVI.* and the atrocious declamations of his detractors; the blaſphemies of *Robeſpierre* and his fellows are too horrible to be recalled to mind.

The Republican party, enraged at finding themſelves in a minority in the Aſſembly, were extremely active in ſtirring up the

People againſt the majority. The moſt violent placards and pamphlets deluged the Capital; the revolutionary clubs entered into the moſt ſeditious reſolutions; that of the Jacobins voted an addreſs of cenſure and abuſe to the National Aſſembly, becauſe they had ſent Commiſſioners to meet the King, inſtead of ordering him to the bar. They ordered that this addreſs ſhould be printed, and ſent into the provinces. One of the moſt flaming members of the club, *Briſſot*, read a diſcourſe which he had compoſed on the occaſion, and which he concluded with propoſing to conſider abſolute inviolability as derogatory to the ſovereignty of the Nation and ſubverſive of the Conſtitution; and conſequently to declare that the King might and ought to be tried: this compoſition was alſo ordered to be printed. This propoſition, proclaimed by the Republican Journaliſts, was repeated in the vociferations of the popular groups, which aſſembled in greater numbers than ever. On the 14th of July, at the end of the Sitting, a very numerous deputation of the rabble, compoſed principally of women and workmen, calling themſelves Members of the Fraternal Society, deſired to be admitted to

the bar, to preſent a petition relative to the exiſting debate. The Preſident (*Charles de Lameth*) did not think that this Deputation ought to be admitted; but he received the petition, and undertook to propoſe the reading of it to the Aſſembly. The propoſal was at firſt rejected by acclamation, but *Barnave* prevailed upon the Aſſembly merely to defer the reading of the Petition to the opening of the Sitting on the next day. "The "queſtion before us," ſaid he, "gains the "more, the more it is agitated. It is of im- "portance that the public ſhould be inform- "ed, that no doubts ſhould be left reſpect- "ing the wiſdom of the decree you are "going to paſs, that all ſhould be heard, all "be diſcuſſed, and no objection remain un- "anſwered."

The following Sitting was opened with the reading of the Petition of the Deputies of the Fraternal Society. We may judge, by the audacity of this production, to what a pitch at that moment the fermentation and delirium of the Pariſian populace had arrived.

"*Repreſentatives of the Nation,*

"The French ſent you to give them a

" Conſtitution, and not to eſtabliſh upon the
" Throne a perjured, traitor Chief, who has
" broken the moſt ſolemn oaths; a Chief
" who has manifeſted the moſt perfidious
" and moſt deſtructive deſigns againſt the
" *great work* in which all have concurred.
" Juſtly alarmed at the dangerous diſpoſi-
" tions of your Committees, we come to
" unboſom our anxieties to you, and to de-
" mand of you, in the name of the Country,
" in the name of that Liberty which it has
" recovered, to take ſpeedy meaſures to diſ-
" ſipate them. When the Romans, the
" firſt free Nation, ſaw their country in
" danger, and that the queſtion was to agree
" upon the intereſts of all, they aſſembled
" as a Nation. The Senators mixed with
" them to collect their votes, and the Senate
" never decided alone upon ſuch important
" ſubjects. It is with this ſpirit of the
" Romans, with this ſpirit of Liberty,
" which we will preſerve as long as we
" live, that we come to entreat you not to
" paſs a definitive act upon the fate of *Louis*
" *XVI.* before the wiſhes of all the Com-
" munes of France are manifeſted; before the
" voice of the maſs of the people is heard
" upon a ſubject in which the intereſts of
" the

"the whole Nation are concerned, and to "which the power you received from "them does not extend. Beware that you "do not yourſelves crown the atrocious per- "fidies of our enemies. Finally, conſider "that you neither can nor ought to pre- "judge a queſtion of this nature; every "decree not contained within the bounds "preſcribed to you, would be null, and "bear at the ſame time a character the moſt "invaſive of the People's rights."

This petition was in a great meaſure the text upon which the Republican orators had commented in their declamations. It excited as much murmuring in the Aſſembly as applauſe in the Galleries; but on the reading of the ſignatures, among which were the names of a great number of women, repeated burſts of laughter increaſed this tumult, to which the Aſſembly put an end by paſſing to the order of the day.

The Conſtitutional Party, aſſured of victory, were not willing to puſh it ſo far as they might have done. The re-eſtabliſhment of the Royal functions and the executive power in the hands of the King, ſhould have been the natural conſequence of

the decree propoſed by the Committees. How in fact could it be determined that the King ought not to be arraigned for his departure, without allowing that no penalty whatever could be pronounced againſt him? What then could juſtify the outrage of prolonging the ſtate of nullity, or rather the ſtate of captivity, in which *M. de la Fayette* detained his Majeſty and the Royal Family? The Republican Party felt ſo ſtrongly the force of theſe arguments, that they inſiſted on the King's being brought to trial, only from the thorough conviction that, if he were not, it would be impoſſible to prevent his being reſtored to the ſame ſtate in which he was before his departure.

"If you decide that there are no grounds "for impeaching the King," ſaid *Prieur*, one of the moſt violent Demagogues—"if "you ſay that he ought not to be tried, you "ought to replace him in the ſtate in which "he was before his flight: for, by acknowledging that there is no offence, you declare that he is in the ſame ſituation as if "he had not done what you ſay is no offence. If that be not your intention, we "are much further advanced; for we agree "with the Committees." A Member of the

the Committee of the Conſtitution (*Deſmeuniers*) immediately replied: That the Committee were unanimouſly of opinion, that the ſuſpenſion of the functions of the Executive Power ought not be taken off till the Conſtitutional Act was finiſhed; that the Conſtituent Body had a right to ſuſpend the Royal functions; that when the Conſtitutional Charter was completed, it ought to be preſented to the King; and that, if he did not accept it without any reſerve or condition, he ſhould then forfeit the Throne.

Theſe ſtrange aſſertions were unanimouſly applauded by the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, but ſhocked thoſe of the *Coté-Droit*. *M. de Monloſier* ſeveral times exclaimed, *It is not true.* How indeed was it poſſible with any coolneſs to hear thoſe Deputies of Bailiwicks, ſent to the States-General without any other power relative to the Conſtitution than that of concerting with the King the improvements it might need, by their own authority declare and proclaim themſelves the Conſtituent Power; and by that title arrogate a right of annihilating the ancient Conſtitution, of drawing up a new one without the King's participation, of compelling him to accept, without

any reſerve or condition, this pretended Conſtitutional Charter, under pain of forfeiting the Throne, and of depriving him proviſionally of all the rights of Royalty? The Members of this Aſſembly had not ſince their meeting received more extenſive powers than thoſe they brought with them; their *lawful* power then, in the month of July 1791, was inconteſtably as limited as it was at the opening of the States-General. Now it is certain, that if in the month of May 1789, any Member whatever of the Aſſembly had dared to hazard only one of the opinions which *Deſmeuniers* had advanced as ſo many Conſtitutional principles, he would have run the greateſt riſk as he went from the Aſſembly of being inſulted, abuſed, and perhaps ſeverely chaſtiſed by the People; and that the moſt moderate amongſt his colleagues would have regarded him as a madman who ought to be ſent to Charenton, and kept there till he was cured. But two years of crimes and outrages committed with impunity againſt the Royal authority had ſo miſguided the minds of men, and had increaſed the powers uſurped by the Aſſembly to ſo monſtrous a degree that there were no

longer

longer any limits to them, but what they choſe to fix.

The explanation given by *Deſmeuniers*, in the name of the Committee of the Conſtitution*, was not the only conceſſion which the leaders of the Conſtitutional Party had the baſeneſs to make, in the dread of endangering the popularity which the King's flight had reſtored to them. They thought it neceſſary ſtill further to ſoothe the Republican Party, in order to weaken their oppoſition to the decree propoſed by the Committees. Before it was put to the vote, they adopted with great applauſe, as Conſtitutional Articles, ſome arrangements that augmented the number of caſes in which the Crown might be forfeited. They were decreed in theſe terms:

* It was formed into a Decree, which the Aſſembly paſſed in the following Sitting. The terms of it were: "The National Aſſembly decree, that their Decree of "the 25th of laſt month, which ſuſpends the exerciſe of "the Royal functions and the functions of the Executive Power in the King's hands, ſhall continue in "force until the Conſtitution ſhall be completed, "and the whole Conſtitutional Act preſented to the "King."

Art.

Art. I. If the King, after having ſworn to the Conſtitution, ſhould afterwards retract, he ſhall be held to have abdicated.

Art. II. If the King put himſelf at the head of an army to direct the forces againſt the Nation, or if he order his Generals to execute ſuch a project, or if he do not by a formal act oppoſe every attempt of this nature which might be executed in his name, he ſhall be held to have abdicated.

Art. III. A King who ſhall have abdicated, or who ſhall be held to have abdicated, ſhall become a ſimple citizen, and be ſubject to impeachment according to the ordinary forms, for all offences committed after his abdication*.

The ſecond Article of the Decree was conceived in ſuch vague terms, and ſuſceptible of ſo many different interpretations, the nature of this formal act, and ſo rigorouſly required, was ſo indeterminate, that *Robeſpierre* himſelf, with a view of ſecuring the

* Theſe three Articles, which were decreed without being committed to writing in the Sitting of the 15th of July, were thus drawn up by the Committee of the Conſtitution, and adopted by the Aſſembly in the Sitting of the 16th.

means

means of dethroning the King upon the firſt hoſtilities againſt France, could not have worded the article otherwiſe.

As ſoon as theſe three articles were decreed, the Conſtitutional Party took advantage of the enthuſiaſm of the moment which they had excited, to put to the vote the plan for a Decree relative to the events of the 21ſt of June, and all the articles were adopted almoſt unanimouſly juſt as they were propoſed by the Reporter. The Republicans and the Royaliſts were equally aſtoniſhed to ſee that ſo feeble and inſignificant a decree in reſpect to the King, was the whole reſult of all the efforts and manœuvres of the Conſtitutionaliſts. After having clearly and ably demonſtrated the inviolability of the King and the impoſſibility of trying him, how could they be ſo puſillanimous as not to call for its actual inſertion in the Articles by the Aſſembly, among whom they had acquired a very great majority? Could it have eſcaped them, that after ſo ſolemn a diſcuſſion the ſilence of the Decree upon this important ſubject rendered it ſtill more doubtful than before? "The "Aſſembly heard us all," the Republicans might ſay to them; "our maxims as well as "yours reſounded in the Tribune, and they "have

" have not exempted the King from a trial:
" they have decreed nothing concerning
" him. We may therefore maintain, with-
" out contradicting any Decree, that there
" are grounds for accuſing him; that the
" Aſſembly themſelves have preſumed it,
" and have pronounced him guilty, by not
" re-inſtating him in the exerciſe of the
" Royal Functions, and of the Executive
" Power."

Such, in fact, from that very evening, were the reaſonings of all the Revolutionary Journaliſts, and the comments of all the Republican Clubs upon the Decree which had been paſſed. That of the Jacobins, whoſe Preſident was a member of the Aſſembly, applauded and adopted the motion of no longer acknowledging the King. Pamphlets profuſely diſtributed and given away *gratis*, informed the Public that the Aſſembly, by not trying the King, had acted contrary to the wiſhes of the ſeventy-three Departments, which required the abdication of the King, and a Republic. Theſe declamations, which hired orators repeated to the populace aſſembled in the public walks, in all the ſquares, and at all the corners of the ſtreets, excited the moſt violent fermenta-

tion

tion in the Capital. Many Deputies, on being known to have ſupported the Decree propoſed by the Committees, were groſsly inſulted in the ſtreets. The people went in crowds to the different places of public amuſement, and, after driving out the ſpectators, cauſed them to be ſhut. Theſe exceſſes were denounced the next day to the Aſſembly. Many ſpeakers very juſtly blamed the Municipality for not having taken meaſures to re-eſtabliſh order, and ſecure the execution of the Decrees relative to the police, and for having releaſed a man who had been taken diſtributing money among the rabble. Complaints, equally well-founded, were alſo made againſt the Jacobin Club, but the Aſſembly paid no attention to theſe remonſtrances. The Conſtitutionaliſts, aſcribing the effects of the weakneſs and inconſiſtency of the Decree they had obtained to the vigour which they ſuppoſed it poſſeſſed, were afraid to enter on a freſh conteſt with the Jacobins, and were ſatisfied with obtaining a Decree for an Addreſs to the French Nation, to explain to them the principles upon which the Decree had been paſſed, and for ſending for the Miniſters, the Department, the Municipa-

ltiy,

lity, and the Public Accuſers of Paris, in order that an injunction might be given to them to attend, according to their reſpective duties, to the maintenance of order and tranquillity; to the execution of the Decrees, and to cauſe information to be inſtantly lodged againſt all who broke the laws, and diſturbed the public peace. On the ſame day, in the Evening Sitting, it was determined, that, inſtead of the Addreſs which had been decreed, the report of the ſeven Committees, and the opinions which they had maintained, ſhould be printed, and ſent into all the Departments.

So great an expence for printing was certainly not neceſſary to juſtify the Aſſembly for not proceeding againſt the King. They might have contented themſelves with publiſhing the three following ſentences:

"We cannot bring the King to trial, not "only becauſe the Conſtitution has declared "him inviolable, but becauſe, laying his "inviolability aſide, we have ſeen nothing "to accuſe him of.

"His plan of a journey to Montmedy "was no crime; and if he had even gone "out of the Kingdom, he would not have "incurred

" incurred the loſs of his Crown, according " to the Conſtitution, until he ſhould have " refuſed to comply with the proclamation " by which the Aſſembly ſhould have in- " vited him to return.

" It is true that another article of the " ſame Decree, which we have declared to " be Conſtitutional, ſtates that the King " ſhall not go farther than twenty leagues " from the place where the National Aſſem- " bly ſhall be held; but no penalty could " be incurred by the breach of this law, " for the article mentions none, and it was " beſides no law in reſpect to *Louis XVI.* " not having been preſented for his accept- " ance, and therefore could not be brought " againſt him."

The deplorable iſſue of the journey to Montmedy cauſed the other ſchemes to miſcarry, the execution of which would have been much leſs hazardous*; and had either of them ſucceeded, which was at leaſt very probable, the ſalvation of the Monarchy and of the Royal Family would have been inſured. This journey being undoubtedly, of all

* *M. Montmorin's* plan, and that which the Emperor had adopted at Mantua, on the 20th of May.

the

the ſteps taken by the King, that which was moſt injurious to him, they who are conſcious of having prevailed upon him by their counſels and entreaties to attempt it, cannot but be exceedingly unhappy, whatever may have been their motives; for it is not neceſſary that the error of ſuch fatal advice ſhould be a crime to be the ſubject of laſting grief and repentance.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XLIV.

Seditious Commotions—Riot in the Champ-de-Mars—M. de la Fayette and three Municipal Officers inſulted—Proclamation of Martial Law—The Municipal Corps with the Red Flag, and M. de la Fayette at the head of the National Guard aſſailed with Stones—Meaſures adopted to prevent Inſurrections—Reading of the Conſtitutional Act—Motions of M. de la Fayette, M. Malouet, and M. Deſprémenil—Declaration of the Members of the Coté-Droit—Rewards granted to the Villains who had aſſiſted in the King's arreſt—The Clubs denounced by the Miniſters—Debate upon the Title and Rights of the Members of the Royal Family—

Speech made by the Duke of Orleans — Motion of M. Malouet relative to the Conſtitution — Debate upon National Conventions — Decree regulating the form of preſenting the Conſtitutional Act to the King — Robeſpierre's Opinion — A Plan which had been concerted between the Conſtitutional Party and M. Malouet to reform the Conſtitution — The Plan miſcarries — Cloſing of the Conſtitutional Act — The Aſſembly decree that nothing contained in it ſhall be changed — It is preſented to the King — A ſhew of liberty reſtored to his Majeſty — The Palace and Garden of the Tuileries are opened to the Public.

THE timidity of the meaſures which the Aſſembly had purſued in repreſſing the fermentation and diſorder which the Factious excited and kept up in the Capital, augmented their audacity and their hopes ſo far as to determine them to ſtir up new outrages, in order to obtain, by means of the terror which they inſpired, the revocation of the Decree relative to the events of the 21ſt of June. The Clubs, thoſe eternal ſources of fanaticiſm and anarchy, ſtrove which ſhould

[illegible] greateſt number of reſolutions, and iſſue the greateſt number of ſeditious advertiſements. The members of the *Cordelier's* Club publiſhed a declaration, that they had among them a ſociety of Tyrannicides, who had individually ſworn to put to death whoever ſhould make an attempt againſt French Liberty. The Municipality informed that a conſiderable meeting was to take place upon the ſite of the Baſtille, on the morning of the 17th of July, and that numerous mobs were to aſſemble in the different public places, and afterwards unite in the *Champ-de-Mars*, immediately iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all perſons from aſſembling in groups in any public place. The Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard, and all the Commiſſioners of the police were at the ſame time ordered to employ all the means which the law gave them to diſperſe the mobs, and to maintain peace. But theſe precautions did not prevent the mobs from forming, and going in crowds to the *Champ-de-Mars*, to ſign there a petition againſt the Decree of the 15th of July. Two perſons whom they had dragged thither, and who probably refuſed to ſign the petition, were immediately murdered, and torn to pieces.

The Municipality being informed of this at eleven o'clock in the morning, ſent three of their members, accompanied by numerous detachments of the National Guard to re-eſtabliſh order; and, if neceſſary, to proclaim Martial Law. The Deputation were complimented with a ſhower of ſtones, by which ſome of the National Guard were wounded. *M. de la Fayette* was in very great danger. A piſtol was fired at him, but miſſed him. The villain who had committed the crime was ſeized and carried to the Section. *M. de la Fayette*, yielding without reflection to a motion of generoſity as miſplaced as inconſiſtent, ſet him at liberty, while he ordered four other men, arreſted in the crowd for throwing ſtones, to be cloſely confined. The three Commiſſioners of the Municipality finding that their repreſentations only enraged the ſeditious, and that their numbers augmented every inſtant, returned to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and gave an account of the facts. Their report determined the Municipal Body to proclaim Martial Law, and to go themſelves to the *Champ-de-Mars*. They began their march preceded by a detachment of cavalry, three pieces of cannon, and the red flag, and followed

by a numerous detachment of the National Guards.

It was half paſt ſeven o'clock in the evening, when the Municipal Body thus eſcorted, arrived in the *Champ-de-Mars;* ſcarcely were they entered, when the cries of *Down with the red flag! Down with the bayonets!* reſounded from all ſides. The cries were ſoon followed by a ſhower of ſtones, and a gun was even fired at the Municipal Officers. A firſt diſcharge of muſkets made in the air, then diſperſed a great number of the ſeditious; but when they ſaw that no one was wounded, they renewed their inſults and their cries, and began again to fling ſtones. The National Guard then fired upon them in earneſt, and killed and wounded a ſufficient number to frighten and put the remainder to the rout*: ſome of them were arreſted and ſent to priſon. This expedition being thus terminated, the Municipal Body arrived at the *Hotel-de-Ville* at ten o'clock at night, and cauſed the red flag to be hung out of one of the principal windows, where it remained

* The number of killed and wounded were at leaſt forty, although the Mayor ſtated them only at twenty-three or twenty-four in the report he made to the Aſſembly.

till the 7th of Auguſt. At midnight tranquillity was re-eſtabliſhed in the Capital.

The Municipal Body came to the Aſſembly on the following day, to give them an account of all theſe events, or rather to confirm the details which they already knew.—The Conſtitutionaliſts, proud of the victory *M. de la Fayette* had gained, and emboldened by the general indignation which this day had excited againſt the Republicans, beſtowed, through *Charles de Lameth*, who preſided in this Sitting, the moſt pompous eulogiums on the conduct of the Municipality, and on the wiſdom of all their meaſures; but, above all, on the bravery of the National Guard, *of thoſe ſoldiers of Liberty and of the Conſtitution, who had, in this inſtance, given ſuch ſtriking proofs of their ſubmiſſion to the law, and had continued to juſtify the high eſteem and gratitude of the Nation, by their zeal, their courage, and their fidelity.* It was decreed, by acclamation, that this anſwer to the ſpeech of *M. Bailly*, ſhould be immediately printed, and ſtuck up in all the ſtreets. Tender reproaches mixed with teſtimonies of admiration, were addreſſed to *M. de la Fayette*, for his act of generoſity, and the Aſſembly charged the tribunals

tribunals to arreſt and proſecute the monſter who had dared to attempt the life of the hero of the day. They at the ſame time decreed, that the Committee of Reports and that of Inquiry, ſhould for the future form but one Committee, in order to draw to one focus all the lights and all the information which might lead to the diſcovery of criminals. The Committees of the Conſtitution and of Juriſprudence, then propoſed a Decree againſt all thoſe who either by placards, advertiſements, or pamphlets, or by ſpeeches at meetings, or in public places, ſhould excite inſurrection, murder, pillage, or any other diſobedience to the law. Severe penalties were enacted in all caſes, againſt the authors of theſe inſtigations, and if the crime ſhould be committed, they were to be proſecuted as being really accomplices.

Petion was the only member of the Republican Party who dared to make any objection againſt this Decree, which he regarded as fatal to the liberty of the preſs.—*Yes, yes*, cried the ſupporters of the Decree, *fatal to Marat, Briſſot, Laclos*, and *Danton*. He was interrupted at every ſentence by murmurs, hiſſes, and burſts of laughter, to which the patriots in the Galleries op-

poſed a few weak applauſes. After a very ſhort debate the Aſſembly unanimouſly adopted the propoſed Decree.

Some villains of different countries having been arreſted in the inſurrection of the *Champ-de-Mars*, the Republican Party endeavoured to turn upon the Foreign Powers the violent animadverſion of which they were themſelves the object, and gave out that it was through their Emiſſaries that theſe ſeditious commotions had been excited. A Jew named *Ephraim*, a private agent of the King of Pruſſia, and ſeven or eight other Foreigners, were denounced to the Committee of Inquiry, who ordered them to be arreſted, on the night between the 18th and 19th of July; but neither their papers, nor the evidence taken reſpecting them furniſhed the leaſt proof in ſupport of the denunciation hazarded againſt them, and all the odium of the cataſtrophe of the 17th of July was finally caſt upon the Jacobin Club, in which a diviſion took place: a great number of its members, who were alſo members of the National Aſſembly, left this Society of pretended friends to the Conſtitution, and joined the Club of the Feuillans, which was entirely compoſed of Conſtitutionaliſts. The tribunal of police

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cauſed the preſſes of the moſt incendiary Republican Journaliſts to be ſeized*; but the order given to arreſt the Editors could not be put in execution, as they had taken flight, with *Danton*, *Le Gendre*, and *Camille Defmoulins*.

The Conſtitutionaliſts were more powerful than they had ever been. Being ſure of the majority in the Aſſembly, in the Committees, and more particularly in that charged with the reviſion of the Conſtitution, it entirely depended on them to make all the changes neceſſary to render it truly Monarchical, and to reſtore peace and happineſs to France. They might have re-eſtabliſhed its ancient Government without its abuſes, and improved it by the reforms pointed out in the majority of the inſtructions given to the Deputies by their conſtituents. The grateful Nation would have forgotten all their faults, or only conſidered them as venial errors, amply repaid by ſo great a benefit.—This is the manner in which they ſhould have terminated their career, and in which they might really have terminated it, if they had been willing,

* *Marat*, who publiſhed *l'Ami du Peuple*, and *Freron*, who was the editor of *l'Orateur du Peuple*.

if

if theſe beardleſs legiſlators had not fooliſhly preſumed, that they were all ſo many *Solons*, and if they had not had the weak ambition of retaining to the laſt minute that deſpicable popularity of the ſtreets, reduced to the praiſes of a vile rabble, who in the *Champ-de-Mars* had received the treatment they merited.

(*Auguſt* 1791.) Such unhappily was the diſpoſition of the party that governed the Aſſembly, at the period in which the Committee of Reviſion preſented their digeſt of the Conſtitutional Act, or rather the claſſification they had made of the different Decrees of which it was to be compoſed. This work being printed, was diſtributed among all the Deputies at the opening of the Sitting of the 5th of Auguſt, and occaſioned a motion to be made for authoriſing the Electoral Aſſemblies to reſume their operations, which the Decree of the 24th of June had ſuſpended. Upon an obſervation being made that it would be imprudent to take off the ſuſpenſion before it was known whether the King would or would not accept the Conſtitution, the author of the motion (*M. d'André*,) maintained that the Conſtitution was abſolutely independant of the King's acceptance.

tance. "It is," ſaid he with more boldneſs than truth, "an Act by which the Repre-"ſentatives of the Nation expreſs its wiſh. "The will of one or ſeveral individuals "cannot alter it. When we have once de-"creed it, neither we nor our ſucceſſors can "change it. It can be affected only by a "majority of the Nation." Theſe democratic aſſertions were unanimouſly applauded by the *Coté-Gauche*, and the Aſſembly decreed, that from the 25th of Auguſt to the 5th of September, the Electoral Aſſemblies ſhould be convoked throughout all the Departments of the Kingdom, to name Deputies to the Legiſlative Body, and that the Deputies who ſhould be appointed ſhould immediately repair to Paris, and enter upon their office on the day to be fixed by a Decree of the National Aſſembly. They then proceeded to read the Conſtitutional Act. When it was concluded, *M. de la Fayette* roſe to make an eulogium upon this pretended maſter-piece, "Which being formed," ſaid he, "according to the know-"ledge of this enlightened age, requires no "further delay, and which all things call "upon us to ſettle. It is at a time when "ſo many conſpiring paſſions are at work

"around

" around us, that it behoves us to proclaim
" theſe principles of Liberty and Equality,
" to the maintenance of which every
" Frenchman has irrevocably pledged his
" life and his honour. The Aſſembly alſo
" doubtleſs think that it is time to give the
" conſtituted authorities motion and union;
" that the ſuſpenſion of the Royal Func-
" tions ſhould ceaſe, and mutual confi-
" dence revive. I will not mention the
" painful duties which my Country had a
" right to expect from me on this occaſion,
" for every kind of ſacrifice is due to it,
" but I may at leaſt be permitted to look
" forward with eagerneſs to the time when
" they will ceaſe to be incumbent upon me.
" I move that the Committee of the Conſti-
" tution be charged to prepare the plan of
" a Decree concerning the form in which
" the Conſtitutional Act, as ſoon as it is
" finally paſſed, ſhall be preſented in the
" name of the French People to the King,
" to be by him examined in the moſt inde-
" pendent manner, and for his acceptance,
" moſt free and unreſtrained."

I have already proved that the inſults with which *M. de la Fayette* had ſo inhumanly filled the cup of bitterneſs to the

Royal

Royal Family, and which he endeavoured to palliate, by qualifying them with the terms of *painful duties*, were neither preſcribed nor authoriſed by any Decree, and was even literally contrary to that by which the Aſſembly had ordained the maintenance of the attentions and reſpect due to the Royal dignity; and no body was the dupe of this hypocritical and falſe modification. The worthy part of the Nation gave the appellation of *great crimes* to what *M. de la Fayette* was pleaſed to call *painful duties*, and poſterity will not miſtake them. The conqueror of the *Champ-de-Mars* however had no reaſon to expect to be ſo ſeverely treated by the Aſſembly. They adopted his motion, and adjourned the diſcuſſion of the Conſtitutional Act till the Sitting of the 8th of Auguſt.

The reporter (*Thouret*) opened this important diſcuſſion by ſtating the plan followed by the Committee in their labours, and the conſiderations which had ſerved them as a general rule to diſtinguiſh the Decrees truly Conſtitutional from thoſe which were otherwiſe. "It might have happened," ſaid he, "that in confining ourſelves to the "ſtrict and rigorous ſenſe of the word *Con-*

"*ſtitution*,

" ſtitution, we ſhould have only made a " collection of reſolutions relative to the " diviſion and organization of the public " powers; but we were ſenſible that the " Aſſembly had not eſtabliſhed the Conſti- " tution for a new people, nor in a new " country; and that the civic chapter of " abolitions which ſhould have preceded the " ingrafting of Liberty and Equality ought " to be Conſtitutionally conſecrated." He then ſucceſſively ran through the different titles of the Conſtitutional Act, and endeavoured to prove that they were claſſed in the cleareſt and moſt methodical order.

M. Malouet, who firſt ſpoke after the reporter, did not ſtop at diſcuſſing the merit of the plan, but he attacked its reſult with ſuch force of argument, that the members of the Committee finding themſelves unable to anſwer it, found it much eaſier to interrupt the ſpeaker, and to direct the debate to the diſcuſſion of the plan. " Every gene- " ral criticiſm on the Conſtitution ſhould " be forbidden," ſaid *Chapelier*, " no one " ſhould ſuffer the thought of changing it " to enter his mind, and every diſcuſſion " that has that tendency ſhould be avoided." *M. Malouet* in vain inſiſted on being permitted

mitted to continue. He was inceſſantly interrupted by murmuring and clamour. "If "the Aſſembly will not hear me," ſaid he, "I will henceforth range myſelf with that "claſs which obey in ſilence; but I declare, "that I cannot as a Repreſentative of the "People, give my ſuffrage to the Conſtitu-"tional Charter propoſed to us*. I ſhall "merely move that the deliberation be con-"cluded by a call of votes, and that the "Aſſembly accelerate the meaſures which "are to ſecure the moſt perfect liberty to "the King." He again urged the Aſſembly to ſuffer him to deliver his opinion; but all the anſwer he obtained was freſh murmurs, and he was forbidden to ſpeak by a decree†.

M. Deſpremenil, warned by this example of the neceſſity of preparing the Aſſembly favourably, that he might be ſuffered to go

* *M. Malouet* repeated and publiſhed this declaration on the 15th of September, after the Conſtitutional Act had been accepted by the King.

† On the following day *M. Malouet* printed the ſpeech which he was not permitted to deliver in the Hall. It is reported in the collection of his opinions, vol. iii. page 47.

through

through the important declaration he wiſhed to make, announced when he roſe to ſpeak, that it was his intention religiouſly to ſubmit to the order of diſcuſſion eſtabliſhed in the Aſſembly. "It appears to me (ſaid he) that it is the intention of the Committee, ſupported by ſeveral of the Members who have ſpoken, to treat only upon the two following queſtions:—*Is the method adopted by the Committee a good one? Are the Decrees which they have collected in their plan of the Conſtitution really Conſtitutional?*"—"Yes, yes," he was anſwered, and with great clapping. "Theſe intentions being thoroughly underſtood (continued he), I ſhall not deviate from them; I only fear that the applauſes I have juſt heard will be retracted. As I am not diſpoſed to take advantage of the order of the diſcuſſion, I declare that we ſhould think ourſelves unworthy of the eſteem of honeſt men, if we did not boldly declare to you beforehand, that we perſiſt in all the declarations and proteſtations which we have made on the ſubject of the enterprizes directed for two years paſt againſt Religion, the Royal authority, the Conſtitutional Principle of the French Monarchy, and againſt all property."

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The Members of the *Coté-Droit* roſe, and ſaid all at once: *I declare it.* In conſequence they forbore taking any part in the diſcuſſion of the Conſtitutional Act, which occupied almoſt every Sitting of the Aſſembly till the 3d of September. During this long interval they never forſook the character of paſſive ſpectators which they had impoſed upon themſelves, but to demonſtrate their indignation, when they heard the Committee of Reports propoſe to the Aſſembly, to decree honorary and pecuniary rewards to all the villains who had aſſiſted in arreſting the King. The propoſed decree fixed the ſum total to be divided amongſt them at 200,000 livres; of which 30,000 were given to *Drouet*, and 20,000 to the Solicitor of the Commune of Varennes. The conduct of the Departments, the Municipalities, and National Guards, who had been the moſt active in preventing the King's eſcape, was declared honourable. The city of Varennes was rewarded with the gift of two pieces of cannon, beſides a muſket and a ſabre for each of its National Guards, and a tri-coloured pair of colours with this inſcription—*The grateful Country to the Town of Varennes.* The towns of Clermont en Argonne

gonne and of St. Mene[illegible]hould obtained each one piece of cannon and ſeven hundred muſkets for the National Guards of their Diſtricts.

One of the Members of the *Coté-Gauche** obſerved after the reading of the Decree, that if any blame could be laid upon the Committee, it was that of too much parſimony in their limits of the National munificence. "If when the King went off you had been "told that for 200,000 livres he ſhould be "arreſted, I aſk who is he among us who "would have dared to oppoſe——?" Several Members of the *Coté-Droit* ſprang up and anſwered together, *I, I, All of us.* The Preſident (*Victor de Broglio*) put the Decree to the vote in a great hurry, and declared that it was adopted by the majority; although the *Coté-Droit*, and ſome of the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, had not riſen when the queſtion was put. *There is ſome doubt as to there being a majority; we demand that the queſtion be put again;* cried ſeveral voices, in the midſt of hiſſes, and ſhouts *for the order of the day.* Inſulting exclamations were addreſſed to the Preſident: he was

* *Muguet de Nanthou.*

told,

told, it was unworthy the ſon of a Marſhal of France to carry a Decree in ſo ſcandalous a manner. *Victor de Broglio* only anſwered theſe reproaches with the noiſe of his bell, which he never ceaſed ringing while the ſhouts and vociferations of the galleries drowned the remonſtrances of the Members of the *Cotè-Droit.* After a long tumult, the predominating cry in this uproar being the order of the day, it was finally adopted.

At this time the Keeper of the Seals went to the Aſſembly, and interrupted the debate upon the Conſtitutional Act with a very ſerious denunciation againſt ſeveral ſocieties of Friends of the Conſtitution. Thoſe of *Alby* had carried off by *main force* from the Regiſtry, proceedings that were inſtituted againſt aſſaſſins, and burnt them. Thoſe of *Caën* had inſulted and menaced the Court, carried off and burnt the proceedings begun againſt the brigands who had broken the ſtatue of *Louis XIV.* and the Public Accuſer had with difficulty eſcaped their vengeance. Thoſe of *Marſeilles* had compelled the Municipal Officers to reſign, ſummoned the Municipality, deſpiſed the authority of the Departments, inſulted the Magiſtrates, &c. &c.: thoſe of *Orleans*, under pretence

of inſpecting the conduct of the High National Court, had taken a place in the Sittings, &c. &c. &c.

The Miniſter of the Interior alſo denounced ſeveral enterprizes and acts of violence of the ſame nature, of which complaints had been made to him; and the Committee of Reports denounced the Abbé *Fauchet*, Biſhop of *Calvados*, who, as well as his grand Vicar, went preaching through the town and country, in churches, clubs, and even in the ſtreets, anarchy, rebellion, the Agrarian law, and a contempt for the Conſtituted Authorities. Upon theſe different denunciations the Aſſembly decreed, that the Miniſter of Juſtice ſhould without delay give directions that the Abbé *Fauchet* and his Grand Vicar ſhould be proſecuted by the tribunal of Bayeux, and daily inform the Aſſembly of the ſtate of the proceedings.

While the Aſſembly, in order to eſtabliſh their power, ſtood in need of the outrages of every kind which were committed or excited throughout the Kingdom by the Jacobin Clubs, they conſidered them but as ſo many acts of exalted patriotiſm, and no ſevere law was ever paſſed to puniſh or ſuppreſs them effectually:

fectually: but the Conſtitutional Faction now triumphant, had no farther intereſt in continuing thoſe exceſſes, and had reaſon to fear that theſe formidable means which they had made uſe of to annihilate the ancient French Conſtitution, might be employed with equal ſucceſs by the Republicans againſt the new one. It was of importance to avert the danger, which was the motive of the denunciation made to the Aſſembly by *M. Duport de Tertre* and *M. de Leſſart*, both of them intimately connected with the leaders of the Conſtitutional Party. It was neceſſary to prepare the public mind to receive the Articles of the Conſtitutional Act which limited the power of the Clubs, to which the King in his declaration had, with ſo much reaſon imputed the diſorder, crimes, and anarchy that afflicted France.

The diſgrace of the Republican Party, and the ſilence of the Royaliſts in the diſcuſſion of the Conſtitutional Act, ſuffered it to advance coldly towards its concluſion; till the queſtion relative to the political rights which the Royal Family ought to enjoy, furniſhed the Duke of *Orleans* with a new opportunity, which he did not loſe of manifeſting all the meanneſs of his mind.

According to the opinion of the Committee, the excluſion of the Members of the Royal Family from political rights was grounded on the neceſſity of preſerving the purity of the Repreſentative Government, and the diſtinction of the powers. "This "family," ſaid the Reporter, "being the "only one privileged, they poſſeſs politi- "cal rights different from the reſt of the "citizens. The Executive Power is their "patrimony: the excluſion of the rights of "the active citizen can be no degradation to "them, as it is the reſult of a peculiar and "hereditary privilege. Nevertheleſs it is "juſt to render this excluſion honourable "by the participation of a particular prero- "gative; and this method appears to us the "beſt to conſolidate on a firm footing the "abolition of the privileges between all "other citizens. If the Royal Family en- "joy a pregrogative grounded upon princi- "ples applicable to themſelves alone, it is "your intereſt to deſtroy every diſtinction "which does not reſt upon the ſame foun- "dation. We are ſhackled in this reſpect "by the decree that was paſſed concerning "the title of *Prince*, which it was pro- "poſed to you to grant to the Members of

"the

" the Dynaſty. As perhaps you not think
" yourſelves abſolutely bound by that De-
" cree, we propoſe to you the following ar-
" ticle:

" *The Members of the King's Family*
" *being the only perſons admitted to an*
" *hereditary dignity, they form a diſtin-*
" *guiſhed claſs of Citizens; they may not*
" *exerciſe any of the rights of an active*
" *citizen, and they have no other political*
" *right than that of the contingent ſuc-*
" *ceſſion to the Throne. They ſhall bear*
" *the title of—.*" The word *Prince* was underſtood, but a blank was left through reſpect to the decree which had rejected that title.

The Duke of *Orleans* being previouſly informed of the opinion of the Committee upon this queſtion, had prepared to ſpeak againſt it. He roſe immediately after the reading of the article propoſed by the Committee, and with unuſual confidence delivered the following Speech:

" As to the ſecond part of the article pro-
" poſed to you, I ſhall only ſay, that you

" poſitively rejected it a few days ago.
" With reſpect to the quality of active citi-
" zen, I aſk, if it be for the advantage of
" the King's relations that it is propoſed to
" you to deprive them of it? If it be for
" their advantage, an article of your Conſti-
" tution formally oppoſes it; and this is the
" article:—*No part of the Nation, nor any*
" *individual, can have any privilege, or be*
" *exempted from the common right of all*
" *Frenchmen.* If it be not for the advan-
" tage of the King's relations that it is pro-
" poſed to you to eraſe them out of the liſt
" of active citizens, I maintain that you have
" no right to order them to be eraſed. You
" have declared all born in France, and whoſe
" fathers were Frenchmen, to be French Citi-
" zens. Now the perſons in queſtion in the
" plan of your Committees are born in
" France, and of French parents. It was your
" intention, by means of conditions eaſily to
" be performed, that every man in the world
" might have it in his power to become a
" French Citizen; now I aſk if the King's
" relations are not men? You have ſaid, that
" the quality of French Citizen cannot be
" loſt but by a voluntary renunciation, or by
" condemnations which ſuppoſe a crime.

" If

" When it is no crime in me to be born a
" relation to the Monarch, I cannot loſe the
" quality of a French Citizen, but by a free
" act of my will. And do not tell me, that
" I am a French Citizen, but that I cannot
" be an active Citizen; for before we em-
" ploy this miſerable ſubterfuge, it muſt be
" explained how a man can be a Citizen in
" any caſe or condition, who cannot exer-
" ciſe the rights of one. It ſhould alſo be
" explained, by what whim the moſt diſ-
" tant relation (*ſuppléant*) of the Monarch
" cannot become a Member of the Legiſ-
" lative Body, while a man appointed to be
" the immediate ſucceſſor (*ſuppléant*) of
" any Member of the Legiſlative Body,
" may, under the title of Miniſter, exerciſe
" all the authority of the Monarch. How-
" ever, I do not think that your Commit-
" tees mean to deprive any relation of the
" King of the privilege of making his elec-
" tion between the quality of French Citi-
" zen, and the expectancy, whether near or
" remote, of the Throne. I therefore move,
" that you reject this article of your Commit-
" tees purely and ſimply: but let me add,
" that if you adopt it, I ſhall lay on the
" table my formal renunciation of the rights
" of

" of a member of the reigning Dynaſty,
" that I may poſſeſs thoſe of a French
" Citizen."

The Republicans, and particularly the active citizens with whom the galleries were filled, flattered that a Prince of the Blood-Royal ſhould prefer the honour of becoming their comrade to that of retaining his own rank, were prodigal of their applauſes on the Duke of *Orleans's* civic degradation and purity of patriotiſm; while his baſeneſs excited in the reſt of the Aſſembly murmurs of indignation or the hootings of contempt. The more moderate Members of the Conſtitutional Party obſerved, that the Aſſembly having decided that they would not anticipate the effect of the renunciations of the reigning Family, the patriotic act of the Duke of *Orleans* ought not to influence the determination; that beſides he had no right to renounce the Throne, either for himſelf, his children, or in reſpect of his creditors. " Perſonal renunciations are always good," replied this degraded Prince. His worthy friend *M. de Sillery* ſupported this opinion in a moſt diſguſting patriotic ſpeech, which

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the clamors of the galleries compelled the Aſſembly to order to be printed.

The diſcuſſion of this queſtion was continued on the following day, and prolonged the Sitting till ſix in the evening. At length, after warm debates, which were terminated by a call of votes, it was decreed, that the members of the King's family ſhould exerciſe the right of active citizens; but that they ſhould not be eligible to places and employments in the nomination of the People. The queſtion as to the title to be given to them was adjourned.

It was decreed in the following Sitting, that the members of the Royal Family ſhould be capable of holding places and employments in the King's nomination, except in the miniſterial departments: that nevertheleſs, they ſhould not have the chief command of any force by land or ſea, nor fill the office of Ambaſſador, but with the conſent of the Legiſlative Body, granted upon the King's deſire; and that they ſhould bear no other than their Chriſtian name, followed by the appellation of *French Prince*.

The laſt chapter of the Conſtitutional Act gave *M. Malouet* an opportunity of attacking the plan of the Committee with ſtill more

more force than he had done at the opening of the debate. It related to the determining the time and conditions of exerciſing a new Conſtituent Power. The Committee propoſed to fix the 1ſt of June 1800, for the period of convoking an Aſſembly of Reviſion, to be compoſed of 249 Members deputed by the departments, and authoriſed ſolely, "to re-eſtabliſh the Conſtituted Powers in "their limits, if they ſhould have exceeded "them, and to conſider and determine upon "reforming any part of the Conſtitution "which may be petitioned for by the citi-"zens, or propoſed by the Legiſlative "Body, or by the King."

M. Malouet was not ſatisfied with demonſtrating the abſurdity of fixing ſo diſtant a period for reforms, which great and unforeſeen inconveniences, and eſſential unperceived vices might render as urgent as neceſſary; he maintained, that the Conſtitution which had been decreed, could only be proviſional until it had been ſubmitted to a mature examination, and a free acceptance, as well on the part of the King, as on that of the Nation. "We muſt at the ſame time," ſaid he, "put an end to the Revolution; that is to "ſay, begin by annihilating all arrange-

"ments,

" ments, all acts inconſiſtent with the " principles of your Conſtitution; for there " is no reaſonable man that can confide in " its promiſe of ſafety and perſonal liberty, " liberty of conſcience, and reſpect for pro- " perty, while he ſees them violated. Thus " your Committees of Inquiry, the laws " againſt Emigrants, the multiplied oaths, " and the violence that is the conſequence " of them, the perſecution of the prieſts, ar- " bitrary impriſonments, criminal proceed- " ings againſt accuſed perſons without any " proofs, the fanaticiſm and tyranny of the " Clubs; all theſe ought to diſappear when " the Conſtitution is preſented, if you would " have it freely accepted and put in execu- " tion." He concluded his ſpeech with a plan for a Decree, which after laying down every point in the completeſt manner, ſtated, 1ſt. That a Deputation of ſixty Members of the Aſſembly ſhould wait upon the King and invite him to reſume the reins of the Govern- ment, to chooſe his guard, and place of re- ſidence, and to declare as ſoon as it was con- venient for him, the modifications he ſhould think neceſſary in the Conſtitutional Act. 2dly. That the King's declaration ſhould be addreſſed to all the Departments; and that

on

on the 1ſt of January 1793, the Primary Aſſemblies ſhould be convoked, for the purpoſe of deliberating on the King's Declaration and upon the Conſtitutional Act; and that, in the mean time, every citizen ſhould be at liberty to publiſh his ſentiments reſpecting the New Conſtitution, which ſhould nevertheleſs be proviſionally executed. 3dly, That the reſult of the inſtructions of the majority of the Electoral Bodies ſhould be taken into conſideration by the Legiſlative Body, who ſhould make ſuch changes in the Conſtitution as ſhould be pointed out by the National wiſh; and that the King ſhould have a right to refuſe his ſanction to whatever ſhould be deemed contrary to that wiſh *.

This ſpeech and plan for a Decree which was juſtly applauded by the members of the *Coté-Droit*, was often interrupted by the murmurs of the *Coté-Gauche* and of the Galleries. "I move," cried *Martineau* the advocate, "that this plan be referred to the Committees of Conſtitution and Reviſion. It contains excellent things towards

* See the Collection of *M. Malouet's* Opinions, vol. iii. page 61.

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the re-eſtabliſhment of order and tranquillity in the Kingdom." This motion being ſeconded, was immediately oppoſed by the moſt violent clamours, and at laſt got rid of by the previous queſtion. Some members of the *Coté-Gauche* ſaid, *that this plan could only be referred to a Committee of Counter-Revoſution.*

Petion, who ſpoke after *M. Malouet*, dwelt long upon the utility of National Conventions, and the neceſſity of rendering them periodical: treated as a mere ſubtility the diſtinction made by the Committee, between Aſſemblies of Reviſion and Conventions, and cited, at hap-hazard, England, America, &c. &c. But the moſt remarkable paſſage of this ſpeech was that in which the ſpeaker, without perceiving it, caſt the cleareſt and juſteſt cenſure upon the Aſſembly themſelves. "How would it be poſſible," ſaid he, "to give the Legiſlative Body the character and power of a Convention? Yet this would be the reſult of the Committees' plan. I ſay that if the Legiſlative Body be erected into a Convention, it would follow, that they ſhould be allowed the power of conſtituting themſelves at their pleaſure, and alſo of reforming themſelves at their pleaſure.

ſure. *Now, nothing could be more abſurd and more dangerous in principle than a body deriving its exiſtence from itſelf alone, which ſhould be accountable to itſelf alone, and which alone ſhould be charged with correcting the abuſes that might ariſe in its own boſom. Such a body would preſently increaſe to a magnitude moſt formidable to the Nation. It would place itſelf above the Nation, upon which all bodies ſhould depend, and would govern it.*"

This indiſcretion, no doubt very innocently committed, frightened ſeveral members of the *Coté-Gauche* ſo much, that they ſtrongly preſſed the too ſimple *Petion* to confine himſelf to the queſtion, and the Sitting broke up without any deciſion relative to National Conventions.

In the next Sitting, it being the order of the day, the ſame queſtion was debated.—*Camus*, ſpeaking on a motion of order, obſerved, that the plan of the Committee could not be entered upon; that the uſeleſs details which it contained, and all the different plans which it might ſuggeſt, and which it might be neceſſary to debate, would conſume more time than the Aſſembly could devote to them, without the greateſt danger.

"I believe,"

"I believe," ſaid he, "that if this Conſtitution is not very quickly terminated and preſented to the King, that we ſhall have the greateſt misfortunes to apprehend. Our weakneſs increaſes daily, and will increaſe every hour that we retard the concluſion of our labours. Factions ariſe in the Aſſembly—efforts have been made to divide us, and unhappily they have ſucceeded—we no longer know on which ſide to rally. I am very far from accuſing any perſon, but I no longer ſee in this Aſſembly that noble, that grand majority, which called forth the Acts of the 17th and 20th of June 1789. Nor is this all. It is not enough to caſt a mournful look on our weakneſs, our old age, our laſſitude: we ſhould alſo conſider what is paſſing abroad. Obſerve, I intreat you, what the Miniſters are doing, or rather what they are not doing. How many decrees have we paſſed which are not executed!"

M. Malouet propoſed that the Aſſembly ſhould, in the firſt place, declare whether they meant to ſubmit the Conſtitution to the free acceptance of the Nation; but this motion, which he ſeveral times repeated, was always repelled by murmurs and by

cries of—*To the order of the day!* At laſt, after a conſiderable debate, the Aſſembly decreed the following article:

"The Nation poſſeſſes the unalienable "right of reviſing the Conſtitution, when- "ever it pleaſes; but the Aſſembly declare "that its intereſt urges it to ſuſpend the "exerciſe of that right for thirty years."

It remained to be decreed how the Nation were to manifeſt and give their reaſons for deſiring a Convention; and when and how this Convention ſhould aſſemble. The plan which the Committee preſented on this ſubject was oppoſed with equal ſtrength and intrepidity by a Deputy, who had previouſly been little attended to in the Aſſembly, (*M. de Croix*). "The Nation," ſaid he, "have no other means of manifeſting their wiſh but that of inſurrection; but they have already pointed out the only poſſible means of changing the Conſtitution. It is on the mode of attaining this object, and particularly with the view of putting an end to the monſtrous ſtate in which we are, and which is occaſioned by the ſuſpenſion of the functions of the

the Royal authority, that I preſume to offer you a few reflections, I ſhall draw them from the titles which have given me as well as you the right of voting in this Aſſembly. In thoſe I every where ſee that the fundamental laws which are demanded by them cannot acquire the character which renders them obligatory, till they have received the King's ſanction. They who appointed us to repreſent them manifeſted great prudence, and a decided will in this reſpect. They were ſenſible that their Repreſentatives might err, and they ſought a guarantee which ſhould inſure them that their political rights and liberty ſhould not be endangered. They ſaw this guarantee in the Royal authority, and in the King, who had convoked them. They ordered that the laws ſhould be enacted conjointly with him. A pretence has been found to envelop this queſtion hitherto with a religious veil, which we muſt now tear from it, and it is impoſſible in diſcuſſing it, but that you will acknowledge the truth of what I have laid before you. Theſe principles point out the conduct you ought to purſue, in order to reviſe and correct your work. It conſiſts in cauſing it to be preſented to the King by a Deputation, and in requeſting

yourſelves to know the obſervations which the intereſt of the people ſhall ſuggeſt to him. *Reflect upon the neceſſity of this meaſure, and remember that, if you do not adopt it, you will act in direct oppoſition to the ſtrict order you received, and will be loaded with the dreadful reſponſibility of having decreed alone upon the fate of a great Nation, againſt the wiſh they have manifeſted. You are not the Nation, you are only their Repreſentatives, and it was the will of the Nation that the King ſhould be your moderator. I ſhall not criticiſe the Conſtitution.—I confine myſelf to aſking whether there is one of us who is ſo arrogant as to think that he has never been miſtaken in the courſe of our labours, and who, if it were in his power, would not deſire to make ſome changes? I move, therefore, the previous queſtion as to the plan of the Committee; and that a Deputation be charged to preſent the Conſtitutional Act to the King to-morrow at fartheſt, and to entreat him to go to whatever place he may think proper, for the ſecurity of the liberty of his perſon, and of the freedom of his conſent; and that moreover his Majeſty be entreated to ſend to the Aſſembly ſuch obſervations as his wiſdom and

and the intereſt of the people may dictate to him, in order that they may deliberate upon them."

The ſpeaker was often interrupted by cries of—*To the order of the day!* and it was even ſeveral times propoſed that he ſhould be called to order for cenſuring all the operations of the Aſſembly, and ſeeking to deſtroy the very baſis of the Conſtitution. In the number of thoſe who ſpoke after *M. de Croix*, no one attempted to confute his arguments, or repel his cenſure. Some preſented new plans, and others confined themſelves to attacking that of the Committees; and the Aſſembly finiſhed by deciding, that when three ſucceſſive legiſlatures ſhould declare a uniform wiſh for the reviſion of ſome conſtitutional articles, a reviſion ſhould take place. That the fourth legiſlature ſhould be charged with the examination of theſe articles; and that, in this caſe, the members of the third legiſlature could not be re-elected for the fourth. The Aſſembly on the next day decreed, that no motion ſhould be made for a reviſal of the Conſtitution before the third legiſlature.

The form in which the Conſtitutional Act

ſhould be preſented to the King, was regulated by the following Decree:

Art. 1. A Deputation ſhall be named to preſent the Conſtitutional Act for the King's acceptance.

Art. 2. The King ſhall be deſired to iſſue ſuch orders as he may think proper, for his guard and for the dignity of his perſon.

Art. 3. If the King yield to the wiſh of the French by adopting the Conſtitutional Act, he ſhall be requeſted to appoint a day, and regulate the forms in which he will ſolemnly pronounce, in the preſence of the National Aſſembly, his acceptance of the Conſtitutional Royalty, and his engagement to fulfill the duties of it.

This Decree, propoſed by the Committee of the Conſtitution, was introduced by a ſpeech which the conſtitutionaliſts and their proſelytes admired as a maſter-piece of eloquence, and of which at preſent it is impoſſible to read a ſingle ſentence without indignation or diſguſt; becauſe we find throughout, the moſt ſtrenuous apology for ſyſtems and opinions, which the Revo-

lution has devoted to general abhorrence.

After paſſing this Decree the Aſſembly determined that the Conſtitutional Act ſhould not be preſented to the King, until it had been entirely read over again, and till they had declared that no change ſhould be made in it.

In the debates on theſe two Decrees, the brutality or rather the regicide ferocity of *Robeſpierre* manifeſted itſelf to ſuch a degree that, except ſome furious Republicans, the Aſſembly were all ſhocked, and ſhewed their diſapprobation by the moſt violent murmurs. "I do not ſee," ſaid he, "even a ſpecious reaſon for changing the preſent ſtate of things with reſpect to the King. I declare that I do not even comprehend the words liberty and conſtraint applied on ſuch an occaſion. I cannot conceive how, in any caſe, the will of *Louis XVI.* can be ſuppoſed to have been conſtrained; for the preſentation of the Conſtitution may be reduced to theſe words:—The Nation offers you the moſt powerful Throne in the world: here is the title by which you are appointed to it. Will you accept it or not? It is not the Conſtitution which we are going to offer to

Louis XVI, for his examination, but this queſtion: Will you be King of the French? Now, I maintain, in giving his anſwer, the King will be juſt as free in Paris as any where elſe. And pray in what ſpot of the Empire can he be better than in the midſt of a numerous and faithful guard of citizens that ſurround him? What mean all theſe whimſical ſcruples about the liberty of accepting a Crown? What people who had a Crown to diſpoſe of, ever thought of ſaying to the citizen, upon whoſe head they were about to place it:—*Go away from us—we leave you at liberty to go to the extremities of the Empire, whitherſoever you will, that we may correſpond more freely with you?*"

In the midſt of the tumult and clamors excited by the blaſphemies of this villain, *M. de Montloſier* was at laſt ſuffered to be heard, and ſaid in the name of the members of the *Coté-Droit*, "In a determination ſo derogatory to the Royal Majeſty and Monarchical Government, we can only demand that our profound indignation, and our ſilence, be recorded."

The following day, at the moment when the laſt reading of the Conſtitutional Act was

was about to commence, *M. Malouet* roſe to ſpeak to order, and ſaid: "On this grand occaſion the Aſſembly ſhould be careful not to fall into inconſiſtency. I have examined your Journals, and hold in my hand the Addreſs which you preſented to the King on the 9th of July 1789. You then ſaid to him: *You have called upon us to fix the Conſtitution in concert with you, and to operate the regeneration of the Kingdom. The National Aſſembly come ſolemnly to declare to you, that your wiſhes ſhall be accompliſhed.* Have you received new powers from the Nation?—Certainly not. By what title, by what right then would you be the only legiſlators, after having acknowledged and declared yourſelves, that you could do nothing without the King's concurrence? That declaration of your principles was made too openly and ſolemnly to be retracted. I aſk then, if in preſenting the Conſtitutional Act to the King, and leaving him no alternative but that of accepting it, pure and unconditionally, or elſe refuſing it ——I aſk, I ſay, if the King will not be warranted in repreſenting to you the Act entered in your Journals?"

This unexpected argument greatly irritated the

the members of the *Coté-Gauche*, and embarraſſed them to ſuch a degree that, fearing to increaſe *M. Malouet's* triumph by oppoſing him, they only anſewred by the moſt noiſy murmurs, and by redoubled cries of—*No, no! To the order of the day!* The Aſſembly made haſte to obey theſe vociferations, and the Galleries celebrated the victory by long applauſes.

At length on the 3d of September the Aſſembly decreed unanimouſly, that is to ſay, the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, all thoſe of the *Coté-Droit* keeping ſilence, that the Conſtitutional Act was cloſed; that they could make no further change in it; and that it ſhould be carried to the King the ſame day by a Deputation of ſixty Members, whom the Preſident was authoriſed to name, all of whom he choſe from the *Coté-Gauche*, except *M. Malouet*, who did not feel himſelf much flattered in being thus diſtinguiſhed from the other Members of the *Coté-Droit*, and ſuffered the fifty-nine Deputies to depart without him.

The period of reviſing the Conſtitution might have been attended with many advantageous changes if the Royaliſts had been leſs repugnant to every idea of a reconcili-

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ation with the Conſtitutionaliſts. The latter were no longer blind to the principal defects of their work, and they heartily wiſhed to reform them, if it could be done without endangering their popularity. For this purpoſe, *Barnave* and *Chapelier* had agreed with *M. Malouet* upon a plan, which could not have failed to ſucceed if the members of the *Coté-Droit* had ſupported, not merely by their applauſes but their votes, the general cenſure which *M. Malouet* was to caſt upon the Conſtitutional Act, and which in fact he did in the Sittings of the 8th of Auguſt. The Conſtitutionaliſts were to reply forcibly to this attack, and to defend pertinaciouſly every article, the execution of which drew along with it no danger; but with reſpect to the regulations which *M. Malouet* had pointed out as Anti-monarchical, or tending to obſtruct the action of the Government, he was to be anſwered pettiſhly, that his cenſure was as uſeleſs as premature; that the Aſſembly had no need to be informed that there were in the Conſtitutional Decrees ſome articles which it became their wiſdom to modify; that the principal taſk of the Committee of Reviſion, which they had eſtabliſhed,

bliſhed, was to propoſe thoſe modifications, and that they were ready to perform it.

Theſe modifications, agreed upon with *M. Malouet*, were nearly the ſame as thoſe which he propoſed in the Sitting of the 8th of Auguſt; but this plan had not been concerted with the Members of the *Coté-Droit*; and it is even doubtful whether they would have acceeded to it: for it was then the opinion of a great majority of the Royaliſts, that the new Conſtitution muſt neceſſarily periſh through its own defects; and that great care ſhould be taken not to reform a ſingle one of them, ſince that would be weakening the principle of its deſtruction *. Be that as it may, the reſolution of the Members of the *Coté-Droit* to perſiſt in their declaration of taking no part in the Conſti-

* This opinion would be a very juſt one applied to ordinary laws, and made in tranquil times, becauſe no government, no perſon, has an intereſt in ſupporting them, but ſo far as their execution proves that they are juſt, wiſe, and uſeful; but it is not the caſe in a new Conſtitution, produced amidſt the convulſions and ſtorms of the moſt violent revolution. Such a law, however defective it may be, is always ſupported by the vanity, the intereſt, and by all the power of the ſucceſsful party.

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tutional Act, was known when *M. Malouet* made his motion. It was no leſs certain, that the Republican Party, reinforced by the Clubs, would ſtrongly oppoſe every modification tending to the re-eſtabliſhment of any Monarchical principle or form. In this ſtate of affairs, the Conſtitutionaliſts not feeling themſelves ſufficiently powerful to ſtruggle with the Jacobins without being ſupported by the Royaliſts, did not heſitate, without informing *M. Malouet*, to abandon the plan which they had concerted with him. He had ſcarcely ſtated the opinion upon which he was going to ſpeak, when *Chapelier* was the firſt to exclaim *againſt the blaſphemy;* and moved, that every diſcuſſion that tended to the ſmalleſt change in the Conſtitution ſhould be formally forbidden. This motion, being ſupported by all the *Coté-Gauche*, and by the clamours of the galleries, was immediately decreed, and compelled *M. Malouet* to ſilence.

The Deputation charged with preſenting the Conſtitutional Act to the King, went to the Palace on the 3d of September, at nine o'clock at night, amidſt the applauſes of the People, and eſcorted by numerous detachments

ments of the Pariſian National Guard and Gendarmerie. They were received in the Council Hall, whither the King, accompanied by the Miniſters and ſeveral other perſons, had come to wait for them. In delivering the Conſtitution to his Majeſty, the ſpeaker of the Deputation (*Thouret*) addreſſed him in theſe words: "Sire, The "Repreſentatives of the Nation are come "to offer for the acceptance of your Ma"jeſty the Conſtitutional Act, which con"ſecrates the indubitable rights of the "French People, which maintains the "true dignity of the Throne, and which "regenerates the government of the Em"pire."

The King made the following anſwer, and delivered it in his own hand-writing to the Deputation: "Gentlemen, I will examine "the Conſtitution which the National Aſ"ſembly has charged you to preſent to me; "and will inform them of my reſolution "as ſoon as the time required for the "examination of ſo important a ſubject "will permit me. I have reſolved to re"main in Paris; and I ſhall give ſuch "orders to the Commander of the Pariſian "National

" National Guard as I ſhall think proper " for the ſervice of my Guard."

The Deputation then returned to the Aſſembly to give an account of their miſſion. They reported, that during the whole time the King appeared with a ſatisfied countenance. " What we ſaw," added the ſpeaker; " what " we heard, every thing prognoſticates that " the completion of the Conſtitution will " alſo be the concluſion of the Revolu- " tion."

On the next day, Sunday, the Tuileries were opened; the inſolent orders of *M. de la Fayette* were at length taken off, and ſuch orders as it pleaſed the King to give to him ſubſtituted in their place. Early in the morning an immenſe crowd filled the Chapel of the Palace. When the King and the Royal Family entered to hear Maſs, the cries of *Vive la Nation! Vive la Conſtitution! Vive le Roi, pourvu qu'il ſigne!* (*provided he ſign*) were the only attentions which this ſtupid multitude had the brutality to pay their Majeſties. Theſe were the only ſentiments which theſe *good Pariſians* expreſſed to *Louis XVI.* whom they had been humbling, inſulting, and keeping in captivity for

for more than two months. *Vive le Roi, pourvu qu'il ſigne!* Was not this ſaying in other terms: *Meure le Roi, s'il ne ſigne pas, Let him die if he does not ſign?*— Theſe regicide clamours will be an eternal evidence againſt the pretended liberty allowed the King in the acceptance of the Conſtitution.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XLV.

Different Counſels given to the King on the Acceptance of the Conſtitution—Alarm of the Leaders of the Conſtitutional Party and of the Miniſters—They perſuade the King to determine upon the ſimple and unconditional Acceptance of the Conſtitution—View of the Revolution, and of the State of Parties—The Order of the Holy Ghoſt ſuppreſſed—Final Diſcuſſion of the Union of the Comtat of Avignon with France—The King's Letter to the Aſſembly, in which he announces that he accepts the Conſtitution—Amneſty—Deputation to the King—His Majeſty's Anſwer—Inſolence of the Aſſembly—The King takes his Oath—The Preſident's Speech to him—Public Rejoicings—Conference at Pilnitz—A Letter from the Princes to the

King—State of France at this Period—Decree againſt the Clubs—Violent Debates occaſioned by a Report on the Finances — Deputations — Speeches — The King goes to cloſe the Aſſembly — His Majeſty's Speech—The Preſident's Anſwer —The Aſſembly diſſolved.

THE determination to be made by the King, in ſuch critical circumſtances, was undoubtedly of very great importance. All the Miniſters, except *M. de Montmorin*, inſiſted on the abſolute neceſſity of accepting the Conſtitution, purely and unconditionally. They owed their places to the authors of it, and the advice which they gave to the King often ſavoured of their gratitude to the Conſtitutional Faction. Both the opinions and intereſt of the leaders of that Party, *Barnave*, *Duport*, *d'André*, and the *Lameths*, were at this time different from thoſe of *M. de la Fayette*, who conſidered them as factious men. They were however much more ſenſible than he of the dangerous conſequences of their ſyſtems, and would have been very glad to lend their aid to every modification, to every expedient which did not endanger their popularity. The conſequence of the

King's

King's arreſt at Varennes had opened their eyes; *Duport* and *Barnave* frequently felt remorſe with melancholy preſages of the future. But the more they were ſuſpected of having returned to Monarchical principles and to ſentiments of concern and reſpect for the King and Royal Family, the leſs did they dare, at this deciſive period, to adviſe a reſiſtance which they thought uſeleſs; they therefore wrote to the King, that whatever were the defects of the Conſtitution, his Majeſty could neither reject nor modify it, and that his ſafety required his pure and unconditional acceptance of it. The Prince *de Kaunitz* was alſo of this opinion, in his confidential correſpondence with *M. de Montmorin*. The Emperor *Leopold* and his Miniſter were at that time ſtruck only with the aſcendancy of the Jacobins, with their intrigues, and their manifeſt tendency to Republicaniſm. The Prince *de Kaunitz* perfectly underſtood and judged rightly of the new Conſtitution. He deteſted its principles, he deſpiſed its authors, and never mentioned them in his correſpondence but with indignation: but being very accurately informed of what was paſſing in France, and ſeeing that unfortunate Kingdom divided into clubs

of Jacobins, whoſe audacity and crimes were continually increaſing, he no longer heſitated to conſider the Conſtitutional Party as the only refuge of Royalty; for, like the Emperor, he was very far from having any idea of engaging in a new war, or adviſing *Louis XVI.* to meaſures that might lead to it, without being firſt aſſured of the ſucceſs of the negotiation entered into by his Imperial Majeſty to unite all the other Powers of Europe againſt France; and of thoſe there were ſome who were by no means decided upon entering into that coalition.

This confidential correſpondence of *M. de Montmorin's* ſhould, if he did not burn it, be ſtill in exiſtence, for it was not found among the papers that were ſeized at his houſe. It explained and juſtified, in many reſpects, the weakneſs with which he was reproached. He has even been accuſed of betraying his unfortunate maſter. I am not afraid to ſay, that he was as incapable of it as myſelf, and I truſt my proofs remain not yet to be eſtabliſhed; but, acquainted as he was with the diſpoſitions of the Foreign Courts, would he not have deceived, would he not have betrayed his Majeſty, had he made him hope for their ſupport, had he inſpired him with

a confidence which he himſelf had not?—When he informed me of the opinion of the other Miniſters, of his doubts, and of thoſe of the King, I anſwered him warmly, that it was impoſſible the King ſhould accept a Conſtitution that dethroned him. He ſaid, that I was not the firſt who had given that opinion, and convinced me of it, by ſhewing me a letter which the Abbé *Maury* had written to the King, and in which that illuſtrious character painted the misfortunes and the crimes of the Revolution ſanctioned by the Conſtitutional Act. Religion, the Monarchy, property, overthrown, and the King delivered up to the poignards of the Factious, if he ſhould thus put himſelf into their hands. "Well!" ſaid I to him, "what can be oppoſed to theſe truths?"—"The King's arreſt," replied he, "and the "ſentiments manifeſted at that period, "ſhowed us to what a height the people "are intoxicated with this Conſtitution, "which all its authors, except *Target*, "would now abjure if they dared: beſides, the "King dreads above all things appearing in "oppoſition to the National wiſh, and be-"ing drawn into a civil war. The opinion "of Prince *Kaunitz*, and his arguments,

" made a great impreſſion upon him. The " Abbé *Maury's* letter has taught us " nothing; it is not reaſon we want, but " power. *Malouet's* advice is not leſs im- " practicable *. He would have the King " comment candidly and very circumſtan- " tially upon the defects and dangers of this " Conſtitution, and declare that he accepts " it only proviſionally, till the Nation ſhall " finally make their wiſhes known by new " mandates to their Deputies, or by a new " convocation. *Malouet's* Memorial, drawn " up in the ſame ſpirit as his Speech upon " the Conſtitutional Act, had a great effect " on the King, and he would perhaps have " adopted that meaſure, if *M. de Maleſherbes* " had not joined with me in ſhowing his " Majeſty, that it would equally irritate the " Conſtitutionaliſts and the Jacobins, who " are the only parties at preſent that poſſeſs " influence, while the moſt zealous Roy- " aliſts, perſecuted and powerleſs in the " Country, or aſſembled abroad, cannot be " of any uſe without the ſupport of the

* *M. de Montmorin* had been charged by the King to conſult *M. de Maleſherbes*, *M. Le Gouvé*, and *M. Malouet*, upon the acceptance of the Conſtitution.

" Powers

" Powers whom we cannot ſolicit, and upon " whom we cannot rely."

I repreſented to *M. de Montmorin*, that of whatever weight *M. de Maleſherbes's* authority was, I could not be of his opinion, unleſs he were to prove to me the reality of the dangers which he ſaw, and which I could not ſee, in *M. Malouet's* advice; that although an abſolute refuſal might endanger the King's ſafety, it was different with reſpect to a proviſional acceptance, upon grounds which, far from being conſidered as an offence, would clearly be an homage paid by the Monarch to the Nation; that the intoxication of the people was but temporary; that to demonſtrate to them, on their own experience, that the new inſtitutions were the ſole cauſe of the troubles and the anarchy that prevailed, would be enough to ſober them; that it was the more to be wiſhed that this means too of rectifying the public opinion ſhould be tried as the worſt that could happen was, that the Aſſembly might declare, that a proviſional acceptance was not ſufficient, but that the King was held to accept purely and unconditionally; that ſuppoſing they ſhould dare to paſs ſuch a Decree, which was very doubt-

ful, the King would but be placed in the ſame ſituation, and would not have to reproach himſelf for not having done every thing that was in his power to avoid the diſaſters which would reſult from his acceptance.

M. de Montmorin became entirely of this opinion, but in a Committee, held a few days afterwards, at the houſe of the Keeper of the Seals, *Duport* and *Barnave*, alarmed at the violent attacks made upon them by the Jacobins in all their Journals, and even in the Aſſembly, where *Robeſpierre* had by name denounced them as traitors to the Country, talked of ſo many, and ſuch great calamities, if the King ſhould decide on a proviſional acceptance, and the Miniſters were ſo alarmed at it, that they prevailed upon his Majeſty to accept the Conſtitutional Act purely and unconditionally.

Thus did *Louis XVI.* conſent to enter upon the fatal agreement of executing a Conſtitution which in itſelf could not be executed. His pure and religious heart was too well known to leave any doubt of his taking the oath with a firm reſolution of being faithful to it, or of his being capable of following the example of his perfidious enemies,

enemies, who, while they were ſwearing fidelity to him, as well as to the Law and to the Nation, were meditating and preparing to overturn the Throne, enſlave the Nation, and annihilate the Laws. Such in fact was the known plan of the Jacobins, at the head of whom at that time were *Petion*, *Briſſot*, *Condorcet*, *Robeſpierre*, *Camille-Deſmoulins*, *Buzot*, and others. It is not irrelevant to explain how the Conſtitutionaliſts, who had founded and raiſed this ſect, were entangled in their own nets, when they wiſhed to ſeparate from them.

Mirabeau, the ableſt of them all, in ſpite of his errors, crimes, and inconſiſtencies, wiſhed by the Revolution to gain the Miniſtry for himſelf, and liberty for the people, but leaving the Monarch a great ſhare of power, the Nobility their rank and titles, and the Clergy the means of ſubſiſting with all becoming decency. It was only to render himſelf formidable or neceſſary, that he became ſometimes the leader and at other times the follower of the Factious; but he was always ready to oppoſe them, and only waited till the Court thought proper to employ him. He had no confidential friends among his colleagues, except the Duke *de Biron*,

Biron, the Biſhop of *Autun*, and the Count *de la Mark*. All the others were his enemies or his dupes. The Abbé *Sieyes*, who deteſted him, and who like him held in contempt all parties and ſyſtems, that did not agree with his metaphyſics, wiſhed, as in Poland, for *the King and the French Republic:* no Nobility, but a richly endowed Clergy, provided all were reformed who believed in God. His haughtineſs, ſophiſtry, and puritanical air, and the credit he had for great talents, kept the Revolutionary herd in awe, and did not ſuffer either the Conſtitutionaliſts or Jacobins openly to ſeparate from him, both of them occaſionally requiring his aſſiſtance.

The real fabricators of the Conſtitution, ſuch as *Target*, *Thouret*, *Emery*, *Deſmeuniers*, &c. acknowledged *M. de la Fayette* as their nominal leader; but before the King's departure for Montmedy they yielded, whether willingly or not, to the direction of the *Lameths*, *Duport*, and *Barnave*, all enemies of *M. de la Fayette*, becauſe he rivalled them in popularity, and counterbalanced their power by the empire he poſſeſſed over the hearts of the Bourgeois of Paris, and over all the enthuſiaſtic admirers

mirers of the Rights of Man, of which he had been the mover, ſo true is it that popular heroes conſtantly reſemble one another in one particular, which always makes them enemies when it does not unite them; the love of excluſive power.

The King's arreſt formed a new æra in the Revolution, which may be regarded as the epocha of the diſorganization of all the parties, one only excepted, which reaped an advantage from the fall of the others. The Jacobins having endeavoured in vain to bring the King to a trial, and proclaim France a Republic, turned upon the Conſtitutionaliſts, who oppoſed it, drove them from their poſt and took poſſeſſion of it themſelves. *Briſſot*, who was then the ſoul of this Club, and the chief of the ſecret Committee, who directed its operations, judged very rightly that the Jacobins could not overturn this weak Conſtitution by any other means than by adopting it; and that it was by declaring themſelves its guardians, they might diſcredit its authors, and ſucceed in deſtroying the remainder of Royalty, which the latter had left defenceleſs.

The leaders of the Conſtitutional Party ſeeing themſelves thus attacked, and in danger

ger of being ſoon ſupplanted by the moſt ferocious Revolutioniſts, divided into two ſects; one of them, hoping to retain the favour of the populace, preſerved the appearance and language of the Jacobins, who, nevertheleſs, denounced them as traitors: the other party, ſtill more odious to them, ſecretly attached themſelves to the King, without adopting or propoſing any meaſure to reſcue him from danger.

M. de la Fayette, immoveable in his reſpect for the rights of men, and in his confidence in the Conſtitutional attachment of the Pariſian National Guard, thought himſelf in a condition to triumph over the Republicans and what he called the intriguers of his party.

The King's arreſt was alſo followed by a diviſion of the Royal Party. Some were for defending his cauſe to the laſt, others thought they ſhould take no further part in the determinations of the Aſſembly; but this difference of opinion had produced no conteſt or bitterneſs in the *Coté-Droit*; for on all important queſtions, that upon the two Chambers excepted, the *Coté-Droit*, had been always unanimous, ſo impoſſible was it for the honeſt partiſans of a mild Monar-

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chy, as well as thoſe of an abſolute one, to ſupport the principles and Revolutionary meaſures of the majority of the Aſſembly; but even this very agreement of the Royal Party as to the fundamental baſis of the Monarchical Government produced no other effect on the multitude than that of marking them all as the partiſans of deſpotiſm, while their diſagreement as to the ſyſtem, left to none of their ſub-diviſions the conſiſtency or force of a party. Thus, all diſappeared, all ſunk, before the ſanguinary cohort of the Jacobins, who were already fabricating in their Clubs, the cataſtrophes of the 10th of Auguſt, the 2d of September, &c. &c. Their determinations each day acquired a greater degree of violence—to their war-cry *The Conſtitution or death*, they had added the word *Equality*. To familiariſe the people's minds to the ideas of hatred and vengeance, they confounded, and pointed out all their adverſaries, under the denomination of *enemies to Liberty and Equality*. At the ſame time they ſupported in the National Aſſembly every motion made by the members of the *Coté-Droit*, tending to its diſſolution, becauſe they were well aſſured that

that their ſucceſſors would ſoon annihilate the vain phantom of Royalty which ſtood in their way.

The Conſtitutionaliſts diſpirited, found themſelves no longer able to hold the reins of the Revolution.

The *pure Royaliſts**, deceived by the hopes of a powerful coalition in favour of *Louis XVI.* looked forward to the diſſolution of the Aſſembly, and very rarely attended the Sittings. Several of them were even preparing to ſet off for Coblentz, ſhould the King accept the Conſtitution.

The *leſs pure* Royaliſts denominated *Monarchiens*† and *Monarchiſtes*‡, were diſguſted at the active part they had taken, and viewed in the diſſolution of the Aſſembly, a period to the inſults and menaces which they were every day obliged to undergo. One alone among them highly diſtinguiſhed

* Thoſe who wiſhed for the ancient Monarchy and ancient ſyſtem.

† Thoſe who wiſhed for the New Conſtitutional Monarchy, with ſome modifications in the Conſtitution.

‡ Thoſe who wiſhed for a Monarchical Government of any kind, ſolidly eſtabliſhed.

for

for his good ſenſe and talents, *M. de Clermont-Tonnere*, foreſeeing that the ſecond Aſſembly would be ſtill worſe than the firſt, was willing to prolong the ſeſſions of the preſent Aſſembly, in order to ſuperintend the trial of the new ſyſtem which they had eſtabliſhed, and to make all the reforms which experience might ſhow to be neceſſary. He ſpoke of it to *Barnave* and to *Chapelier*, whom he thought to find diſpoſed to ſupport the motion which he propoſed to make to that effect; but they adviſed him againſt it. "We are worn out," ſaid they, "we ſhall "be driven away as well as you and your "party, if we do not go of our own ac-"cord. It is only in our Departments, and "by occupying places under the Govern-"ment, that we can henceforth do any "good." Theſe Conſtitutionaliſts, as preſumptuous as guilty, ſtill conceived themſelves to be perſons of importance. Odious to all parties, deſpiſed by every honeſt man, and authors of all the calamities which then deſolated France, and of thoſe too which the new laws would introduce, how could they conceal from themſelves not only that they were no longer good for aught, but that the general

general indignation would purſue them to the obſcureſt retreats, regardleſs of their barren remorſe?

Such is the exact picture of the Revolution, and of the ſtate of the different parties in France, at the period in which the King was deliberating on the acceptance of the Conſtitutional Act. Ten days had ſcarcely elapſed after it was preſented to him, when it was rumoured that his Majeſty had agreed to the pure and unconditional acceptance of it. This news being confirmed, *M. Deſpremenil*, in the Sitting of the 12th of September, aſked permiſſion to lay on the table the declaration of a very great number of his colleagues reſpecting the Conſtitutional Act. Moſt of the members of the *Coté-Droit* roſe to teſtify their concurrence. The members of the *Coté-Gauche* anſwered the requeſt only by burſts of laughter, and diſpoſed of it by moving the order of the day, the ſubject of which was the petition of the people of Avignon, for a union of the Comtat with France.—The reporter (*M. de Menou,*) concluded with propoſing, that this union ſhould be decreed, indemnifying the Pope. The

Abbé

Abbé *Maury*, prepared with a multitude of proofs of the greateſt weight, and with all the power of his talents, oppoſed the reporter's propoſal, as contrary to the free wiſhes of the majority of the inhabitants of the Comtat, and undertook to prove, by irreſiſtible documents, that the Commiſſioners, ſent as Mediators to Avignon, had acted contrary to what their miſſion preſcribed, and had made themſelves accomplices of the villains who were ruining that unhappy country.

In the following Sitting, before the debate upon the affair of Avignon was reſumed, it was obſerved, that, as the King and the Prince-Royal might be expected every moment in the Aſſembly, it would be right to ſettle whether the order of the Holy Ghoſt ſhould be ſuffered to exiſt, that the King might know whether to appear or not in the blue ribbon. Upon this impertinent motion it was decreed, that no Frenchman ſhould wear the badges of any order, except the military one, (*the Croix de St. Louis*,) but that, nevertheleſs, the King and Prince-Royal ſhould be privileged to wear the blue ribbon.

After this the Abbé *Maury* aſcended the tribune, and in conſequence of the engagement he entered into the day before, to prove the treachery of the Commiſſioners ſent to Avignon, he read in their preſence, an act of accuſation, written and ſigned by his own hand, in which he deſired to be authorized to proſecute them, on his own reſponſibility, in the high National Court at Orleans, for having been guilty in the exerciſe of their office, of the moſt iniquitous partiality, of the moſt ſhocking abuſes of confidence and authority, and of conſtantly affording the moſt ſcandalous protection to all the brigands, &c. ſubmitting himſelf, in caſe his accuſation ſhould be judged ill-founded to every civil reparation, as well as to all coſts and expences. The recital of the facts upon which theſe accuſations were founded, and the reading of the papers which contained the proofs of them, were often interrupted by clamours and inſults beſtowed upon the ſpeaker. The accuſed Commiſſioners anſwered him only by miſerable ſubterfuges or ſarcaſms; but powerfully protected by the *Coté-Gauche* and by the Galleries, they had no need of being innocent to be juſtified,

and

and all that they ſaid in their defence was loudly applauded, almoſt at every ſentence. One of them was ſtill ſpeaking when the Keeper of the Seals entered and gave the Preſident the letter by which the King announced to the Aſſembly his acceptance of the Conſtitution. This letter was couched in the following terms:

"GENTLEMEN,

"I have attentively examined the Conſtitutional Act, which you have preſented for my acceptance; I accept it, and I will cauſe it to be executed. This declaration at another time might have ſufficed; at preſent I owe it to the intereſts of the Nation, I owe it to myſelf to make known my motives.

"From the very outſet of my reign I have been anxious for the reform of abuſes, and in all the acts of the Government, I have been fond of taking the public opinion for a rule.

"Various cauſes, in the number of which we muſt place the ſituation of the Finances, at my acceſſion to the Throne, and the immenſe expences of an honourable war, for a long time ſuſtained without an increaſe of

taxes, had created a conſiderable diſproportion between the revenues and expences of the State. Struck with the extent of the evil, I not only conſidered how it might be remedied, but I felt the neceſſity of preventing its return. I conceived a plan of fixing the happineſs of the people upon a ſolid baſis, and of ſubjecting the authority of which I was myſelf the depoſitary to invariable rules; and I called the Nation around me to put it into execution.

" In the courſe of the events of the Revolution, my intentions have never varied. When, after reforming the old inſtitutions, you began to replace them by the firſt eſſays of your work, I did not wait till the Conſtitution was completely known to me, before I gave my aſſent to them. I favoured the eſtabliſhment of its parts, even before I could judge of the whole, and if the diſorders which have accompanied almoſt all the periods of the Revolution, too often afflicted my heart, I hoped that the law would recover its force, in the hands of the new authorities, and that as you drew near to the end of your labours, each day would reſtore that reſpect to it, without which the people can

enjoy

enjoy neither liberty nor happineſs. I long cheriſhed that hope, and till it forſook me my reſolution never changed.

"Let every one call to mind the period at which I left Paris: the Conſtitution was nearly completed, and yet the authority of the laws ſeemed daily to diminiſh. Public opinion, far from being fixed, was ſubdivided by a multitude of parties; the moſt violent opinions alone ſeemed to obtain favour; the licentiouſneſs of writings exceeded all bounds—no authority was reſpected.

"I could no longer trace the general will in the laws, which I ſaw every where without force and without execution. I muſt ſay, that had you at that time preſented me with the Conſtitution, I ſhould not have thought that the intereſt of the people, which has been the conſtant and only rule of my conduct, permitted me to accept it. I had but one ſentiment—I formed but one plan—I wiſhed to withdraw from all parties, and to know what was really the wiſh of the Nation.

"The motives by which I was guided no longer exiſt. Since that time the inconveniences and the evils of which I complained, have ſtruck you as well as me. You have

manifeſted a will to eſtabliſh order; you have paid attention to the want of diſcipline in the army; you have ſeen the neceſſity of correcting the abuſes of the preſs. The reviſion of your work has placed in the number of legal regulations many articles which had been preſented to me as Conſtitutional. You have appointed forms for the reviſion of thoſe which you have placed in the Conſtitution. In fine, I no longer doubt the will of the People: I have ſeen it at once manifeſted by their attachment to your work, and by their adherence to the maintenance of the Monarchical Government.

"I therefore accept the Conſtitution. I engage to maintain it at home, to defend it from all attacks abroad, and to cauſe it to be executed by all the means which it places in my power.

"I declare, that knowing the attachment of the great majority of the People to the Conſtitution, I renounce the co-operation which I claimed in the work, and as I am reſponſible only to the Nation, none elſe have a right to complain of my renouncing it.

"I ſhould, however, not ſay the truth, if I affected to perceive, in the means of execution and adminiſtration, all the energy that

would be neceſſary to give motion, and preſerve unity in all the parts of a vaſt Empire; but as opinions are at preſent divided on theſe ſubjects, I conſent to their being left to the determination of experience. If I faithfully uſe all the means which have been placed in my hands, no blame can be thrown upon me, and the Nation whoſe intereſt alone ought to ſerve as a rule, will then explain themſelves by the means which the Conſtitution has reſerved for them.

" But, Gentlemen, for the ſecuring of Liberty, for the ſtability of the Conſtitution, and for the individual happineſs of every Frenchman, there are intereſts concerning which an imperious duty preſcribes to us the union of all our efforts. Theſe intereſts are, reſpect for the laws, the eſtabliſhment of order, and the re-union of all the citizens. Now, that the Conſtitution is finally decreed, Frenchmen, living under the ſame laws, ought to know no other enemies than thoſe who infringe them. In diſcord and anarchy, we ſee our common enemies. I will combat them with all my power. It is neceſſary that you and your ſucceſſors ſhould ſecond my efforts with

energy; that without meaning to fetter thought, the law ſhould afford protection alſo to all thoſe who ſubmit their actions to it; and that they who from fear of perſecutions and troubles had left their country, ſhould, when they return, be certain of finding ſafety and tranquillity. To extinguiſh animoſities, to ſoften the evils which a great Revolution ever brings with it, and in order that the law may from this day begin to be fully executed, let us conſent to an oblivion of the paſt, and let the accuſations and the proſecutions which have ariſen from the events of the Revolution, be abandoned in a general reconciliation.

"I ſpeak not of thoſe who have been ſolely actuated by their attachment to my perſon: Could you, in that, conſider any as guilty? As for thoſe, who through exceſſes in which I might perceive perſonal injuries, have drawn upon themſelves the proſecution of the laws, I feel in reſpect to them that I am the King of the French.

"(Signed) LOUIS.

"*Paris, September 13th*, 1791.

"*P. S.* I think, Gentlemen, that I ought to pronounce my ſolemn acceptance

of the Conſtitution, in the very place where it was formed: I ſhall conſequently to-morrow at noon, come to the National Aſſembly."

Cries of *Vive le Roi! Bravo! bravo!* accompanied by great applauſes, broke out ſeveral times during the reading of this letter, and were redoubled at the ſentence in which the King declared, that *he renounced the co-operation which he had claimed in the work of the Conſtitution*, as if this tardy and forced renunciation of a co-operation which the Aſſembly had conſtantly and formally refuſed to his Majeſty, although it was unanimouſly preſcribed in all the inſtructions to the members, could be of any validity. However, the *Coté-Gauche*, enchanted with that paragraph, called for its being read again, which they obtained by repeated cries of *encore*. The Hall reſounded for ſome minutes with clappings and ſhouts of joy, which formed a very ſtriking contraſt to the dead ſilence which reigned among the *Coté-Droit*.

M. de la Fayette then moved, that according to the King's deſire, all perſons confined on account of his Majeſty's departure, ſhould

ſhould be ſet at liberty; that an immediate ſtop be put to all proceedings relative to the the events of the Revolution; and that the uſe of paſſports, and all temporary reſtraints upon the liberty of going and coming, as well in as out of the Kingdom ſhould be annulled. The Aſſembly adopted the propoſal of *M. de la Fayette* by acclamation, and appointed a Deputation of ſixty of its members, to go immediately and preſent this Decree to the King, and expreſs to him the delight they had felt on hearing his Majeſty's letter read. The Keeper of the Seals left the Hall amidſt applauſes, and went to inform the King of the Deputation that was coming to him.—As ſoon as they had ſet off, the Aſſembly, tranſported with rapture, broke up the Sitting.

The Deputation being introduced to the King, addreſſed him in the following ſpeech:

"Sire, The letter which your Majeſty ſent to the National Aſſembly has been read to them; they interrupted the reading of it by repeated applauſes, which alone can expreſs the ſentiments with which the French People have been ſo long animated for

for their Kings. The Aſſembly partake your Majeſty's deſire to extinguiſh all animoſities, to put an end to all diſſentions; and being anxious to diſtinguiſh this grand epocha by all that can render it ſolemn, have haſtened to paſs a decree which obliterates every trace of a Revolution now concluded. They have charged us to bring that Decree to your Majeſty, and here it is*."

The King heard it read, was greatly affected by it, and anſwered with an air of ſatisfaction: "I ſhall always feel it a pleaſure as well as a duty to follow the will of the Nation when I am acquainted with it. I am ſenſible of the readineſs with which the National Aſſembly have complied with the deſire I expreſſed that they ſhould paſs an act of grace. This day will be memorable in hiſtory. I wiſh it may put an end to diſcord; that it may unite all, and that we may be but one. I am informed," added the King, "that the National Aſſembly have this morning paſſed a Decree relative to the Blue Ribbon, with which they have exclu-

* In the final drawing up of the Decree which was adopted the following day, the revocation of the Decree relative to the Emigrants was expreſsly paſſed.

ſively

ſively honoured myſelf and my ſon. As I never ſet any other value on this decoration but that of being able to beſtow it upon others, I am determined to lay aſide the Blue Ribbon. I requeſt you to inform the Aſſembly of my reſolution."

The Queen and her children being at the door of the Council-Chamber where the Deputation was received, the King ſaid: "There are my wife and children who partake my ſentiments." The Queen advanced towards the Deputies, and with her own lips confirmed what the King had ſaid.

Theſe particulars were reported the day following at the opening of the Sitting by the Speaker of the Deputation, and excited great applauſe. The Aſſembly then reſumed the debate upon the affair of Avignon, and concluded by adopting the reporter's propoſal.

The Members of the *Coté-Gauche* very ſoon manifeſted that the joy which they had ſhown on hearing the King's anſwer was not connected with any intention favourable to his Majeſty. In the ſuppreſſion of the Blue Ribbon they only conſidered the annihilation of an Order too illuſtrious to be within their reach; and the affecting ſenti-

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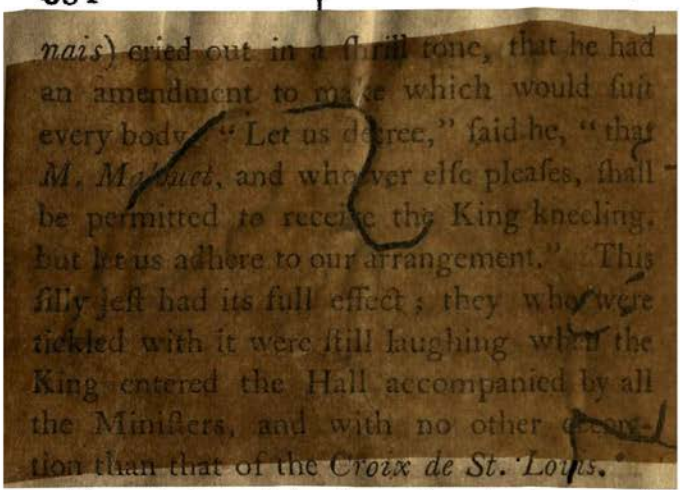
ment which the King had expreſſed in his paternal wiſh, "*that we may be but one,*" only flattered their fooliſh vanity. They were ſo ridiculouſly elated at this moment, that the Preſident having ſeriouſly propoſed to the Aſſembly to decide whether they ought not to keep their ſeats while the King, who was expected, took his oath, the Members of the *Cote-Gauche* vociferated, To be ſure! To be ſure! and *the King ſtanding with his hat off!* This arrangement was adopted, amidſt the ſhouts and clappings of the galleries, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of the members of the *Coté-Droit.* When ſilence was reſtored, *M. Malouet* obſerved that there was no circumſtance in which the National Aſſembly in the King's preſence did not acknowledge him as their Chief; that, not to treat the Chief of the State with the reſpect due to him, was a ſlight to the Nation as much as to the Monarch. He moved in conſequence, that as the King was to take his oath ſtanding, the Aſſembly ſhould alſo hear it in the ſame attitude. This obſervation made an impreſſion on many Members of the *Coté-Gauche,* and the motion would perhaps have been decreed, had not a Breton Deputy (*Languinais*)



nais) cried out in a ſhrill tone, that he had an amendment to make which would ſuit every body. "Let us decree," ſaid he, "that *M. Malouet*, and whoever elſe pleaſes, ſhall be permitted to receive the King kneeling, but let us adhere to our arrangement." This ſilly jeſt had its full effect; they who were tickled with it were ſtill laughing when the King entered the Hall accompanied by all the Miniſters, and with no other deſcription than that of the *Croix de St. Louis*.

Two chairs of the ſame ſize, both covered with velvet, wrought with golden *fleurs-de-lis*, were placed before the Preſident's table. The King went up to it, and placing himſelf on the left of the Preſident, ſpoke in theſe terms:

"Gentlemen, I come to conſecrate "ſolemnly here my acceptance of the Con- "ſtitutional Act. I ſwear, in conſequence, "to be faithful to the Nation and to the "Law, to employ all the power delegated "to me, to maintain the Conſtitution de- "creed by the Conſtituent National Aſſem- "bly*; and to cauſe the laws to be exe- "cuted

* The King at this moment perceiving that he was the

" cuted. May this great and memorable " epocha be that of the re-eſtabliſhment of " peace and union, and become the pledge " of the happineſs of the people, and of " the proſperity of the Empire."

The Hall for ſeveral minutes reſounded with the cries of *Vive le Roi*, during which the Miniſter of Juſtice preſented the Conſtitutional Act to the King to be ſigned, and ſigned it after his Majeſty, as did all the other Miniſters.

The Aſſembly, who had riſen during the ſigning of the Conſtitutional Act, ſat down again to hear the Preſident's anſwer, who ſtanding, pronounced the firſt ſentence, but he alſo ſat down with the moſt civic familiarity, when he ſaw that the King did not riſe to hear him. The ſpeech which he made to his Majeſty was as follows:

" France was oppreſſed by abuſes which had long triumphed over the good inten-

the only perſon ſtanding, ſat down and continued his ſpeech. This dignified motion was attended with a general clapping, mixed with cries of *Vive le Roi*. Even they who had juſt been inſulting the Royal Majeſty, ſeemed to be pleaſed with the King, for not having ſuffered it.

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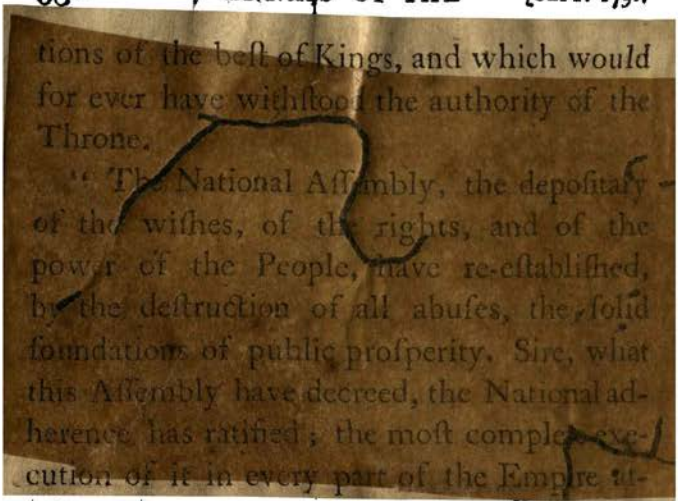


tions of the beſt of Kings, and which would for ever have withſtood the authority of the Throne.

"The National Aſſembly, the depoſitary of the wiſhes, of the rights, and of the power of the People, have re-eſtabliſhed, by the deſtruction of all abuſes, the ſolid foundations of public proſperity. Sire, what this Aſſembly have decreed, the National adherence has ratified; the moſt complete execution of it in every part of the Empire atteſts the general aſſent; it diſconcerts the feeble projects of thoſe whom diſcontent has too long blinded to their own intereſts; it promiſes your Majeſty that you ſhall no longer wiſh in vain the happineſs of the French.

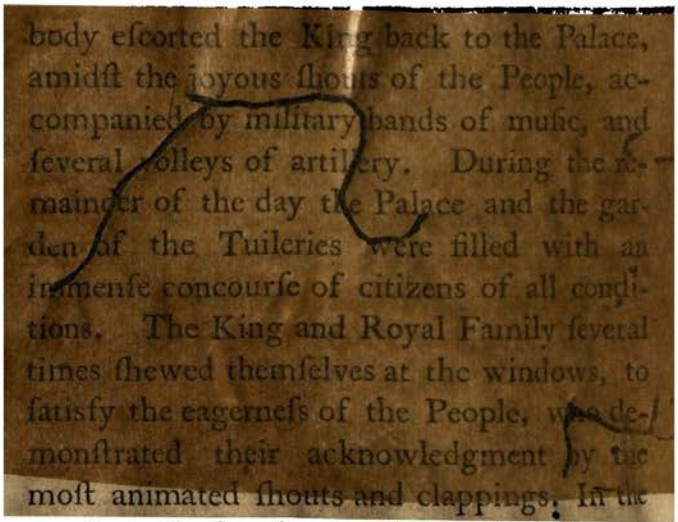
"The National Aſſembly have nothing more to deſire on this ever memorable day, on which you have conſummated in its boſom, by the moſt ſolemn engagement, the acceptance of the Conſtitutional Royalty. It is the attachment of the French, it is their confidence, which beſtows upon you this reſpectable and pure title to the nobleſt Crown upon the globe; and it is ſecured to you, Sire, by the imperiſhable authority of a Conſtitution freely decreed; by the invincible

vincible force of a people who felt themſelves worthy of liberty, and by the neceſſity there is, that ſo great a Nation ſhould always have an hereditary Monarchy.

" When your Majeſty, waiting from experience a knowledge of the practical effects of the Conſtitution, promiſes *to maintain it at home, and to defend it againſt all attacks abroad*, the Nation relying upon the juſtice of their rights, upon the conſciouſneſs of their ſtrength and courage, and upon the fidelity of their co-operation, cannot perceive abroad any ground of alarm, and will concur, by their tranquil confidence, to the prompt ſucceſs of their Government at home.

" How grand in our eyes, Sire! how dear to our hearts, and how ſublime in our hiſtory muſt appear the æra of the regeneration, which gives to France Citizens, to the French a Country, and to you, as a King, a new title of grandeur and of glory, as a man, a new ſource of enjoyment, and new ſenſations of happineſs."

Nothing was heard in the Hall but clapping and cries of *Vive le Roi!* and *Bravo!* till the King had left it. The Aſſembly in a



body eſcorted the King back to the Palace, amidſt the joyous ſhouts of the People, accompanied by military bands of muſic, and ſeveral volleys of artillery. During the remainder of the day the Palace and the garden of the Tuileries were filled with an immenſe concourſe of citizens of all conditions. The King and Royal Family ſeveral times ſhewed themſelves at the windows, to ſatisfy the eagerneſs of the People, who demonſtrated their acknowledgment by the moſt animated ſhouts and clappings. In the evening all the ſtreets of the Capital were illuminated, as they had been the night before. When the King accepted the Conſtitution, the Aſſembly had expreſsly declared, that the Revolution was at an end. The Pariſians good-naturedly believed it; and the idea, that they were at laſt going to enter upon the enjoyment of all the proſperity, of all the happineſs which had been promiſed them, tranſported them with joy.—The Aſſembly ſtill further confirmed theſe flattering hopes, by decreeing, that the King ſhould be requeſted to give orders, that the Conſtitution ſhould be ſolemnly proclaimed in the Capital, on the Sunday following, September 18th, and in all the Departments and

and Municipalities of the Kingdom, on the Sunday after the day on which it ſhould officially come to their hands; and that the happy completion of it ſhould be every where celebrated by public rejoicings, and by the liberation of all priſoners confined for debt contracted for the nurſing of their children, which debts ſhould be paid out of the Public Treaſury.

The King's brothers, far from being impoſed upon by theſe illuſions, ſaw in the principles of the New Conſtitution, the annihilation of Religion, the overthrow of the Monarchy, and the violation of all Rights, and of all Property; and in the conſequences of thoſe principles, the impunity for all crimes, the deſpotiſm of the brigands, and the total overthrow and deſolation of the whole Kingdom. The King alone could have prevented ſo many calamities, by exerciſing freely, and conformably to the unanimous wiſh of the Nation, the right which they had formally acknowledged him to poſſeſs, in all their inſtructions to their Deputies, according to which no change could be made in the ancient Conſtitution, except in concert with his Ma-

jeſty; but at this fatal period, *Louis XVI.* violently ſtripped of all power, of every authority whatever, confined, he and his family, and watched in his Palace, was not ſo free as the loweſt of his ſubjects, and perceived that they ſtill acknowledged him as King, only by the inſults and threats with which they addreſſed him every day, to ſhew their hatred to Royalty. The Princes, as much alarmed as irritated, at ſeeing the Royal Family in ſo critical a ſituation, ſtrenuouſly exerted themſelves to intereſt all the Foreign Powers in their cauſe, and to prevail upon them to adopt the only determination that could deliver the King, ſave the Monarchy, and prevent the calamities with which the Revolution menaced not only France, but all Europe.

The Emperor and the King of Pruſſia, having at this period to ſettle between themſelves ſome intereſts of too delicate and important a nature to be adjuſted by the uſual diplomatic modes, thought proper to diſcuſs them in perſon, and agreed for that purpoſe to meet at the Caſtle of Pilnitz, towards the end of the month of Auguſt, before the Emperor's coronation. Their Majeſties,

Majeſties, being warmly urged by the Princes, conſented to take alſo into conſideration, in that conference, the ſubject of their repreſentations, the reſult of which might have been ſo advantageous to the affairs of France, if the other Courts had been leſs tardy in adopting the Emperor's plan; and if he himſelf, yielding to the counſels of weakneſs, miſtruſt, or falſe politics, had not abandoned it, before he began to put it into execution. This plan agreed entirely with that which his Imperial Majeſty had ſettled at Mantua four months before, except the changes made neceſſary by the difference of the King's ſituation at theſe junctures.

The Emperor and the King of Pruſſia arrived at Pilnitz on the 25th of Auguſt. His Royal Highneſs the Count *d'Artois* arrived there on the ſame day, accompanied by *M. de Calonne*, and immediately obtained an audience of their Majeſties, which laſted about three quarters of an hour. It was agreed that the Baron *de Spielmann*, the Emperor's Miniſter, *M. de Biſchofswerder*, the King of Pruſſia's, and *M. de Calonne*, for the Princes, ſhould be commiſſioned to ſettle, and draw up a declaration, to be

ſigned by their Majeſties. On the 27th, after dinner, while the Emperor, the King of Pruſſia, the Elector of Saxony, and the Count *d'Artois*, were gone to Dreſden, the three Miniſters met, and for nearly four hours diſcuſſed a plan of a declaration, which *M. Spielmann* had previouſly drawn up, and to which *M. de Calonne* made ſeveral objections. In the evening, after the return of their Majeſties and the Count *d'Artois*, his Royal Highneſs and *M. de Calonne* went together to the Emperor's apartments, where they found the King of Pruſſia, Marſhal *de Lacy*, *M. Spielmann*, and *M. Biſchofswerder*. There was no other perſon preſent at this conference. The plan of a declaration was read and diſcuſſed. The conteſted points were again debated, and their Majeſties conſented, on being urged by the Count *d'Artois*, to admit the firſt ſentence which *M. de Calonne* had propoſed, as more adapted than the preceding ones to inſpire confidence. It was alſo agreed by a ſecret Convention, that the Emperor and the King of Pruſſia, ſhould each furniſh twelve thouſand men upon the frontiers of the Rhine, as ſoon as poſſible, to ſupport the army of the Emigrants, and to demonſtrate

ſtrate unequivocally, the effectual protection which their Majeſties were determined to grant to the cauſe of the Princes, while they waited the concurrence of the other Powers.

The declaration ſigned at Pilnitz by the Emperor and by the King of Pruſſia, and delivered by their Majeſties to the Count *d'Artois*, was couched in theſe terms:

"* His Majeſty the Emperor, and his "Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, having heard "the deſires and the repreſentations of "MONSIEUR and his Royal Highneſs the "Count *d'Artois*, declare conjointly, that "they conſider the ſituation in which his

* The Factious who were not in the ſecret of the general plan with which this declaration was connected, concluded, from the words *then and in that caſe*, with which the laſt ſentence but one of this declaration began, that it was an illuſory and unmeaning act, granted to the Princes, without any intention of its being put in execution, and merely to get rid of their importunities. In fact, it is certain, that the declaration of Pilnitz was not executed; but that was only becauſe the pure and unconditional acceptance of the Conſtitutional Act, which had not been expected, was made by the King, in terms that gave grounds for preſuming that his Majeſty had ſincerely and voluntarily conſented to make trial of the New Conſtitution.

" Majeſty the King of France is at preſent
" placed, is a matter which concerns the
" intereſt of every Sovereign of Europe.—
" They hope that that intereſt will not fail
" to be acknowledged by the Powers whoſe
" aſſiſtance is required; and that conſe-
" quently, they will not refuſe to employ,
" in conjunction with their Majeſties, the
" moſt efficacious means, according to their
" abilities, to put the King of France in a
" ſituation to eſtabliſh, in perfect liberty,
" the foundations of a Monarchical Go-
" vernment, equally agreeable to the rights
" of Sovereigns and the welfare of the
" French; then and in that caſe, their Ma-
" jeſties are determined to act promptly and
" by mutual conſent, with the forces ne-
" ceſſary to obtain the end propoſed by all
" of them. In the mean time they will
" give orders for their troops to be ready
" for actual ſervice.

" *Pilnitz, Auguſt 27th*, 1791.

" Signed by the Emperor and the King
" of Pruſſia."

As the Princes at this time had no means of correſponding directly with the King, without running the riſk of augmenting his dangers,

dangers, they could not inform him of this negotiation, and the mode they took to make the reſult of it known to him, was by a letter they cauſed to be inſerted in ſeveral newſpapers and journals *. This letter made a great impreſſion, but unfortunately the King had accepted the Conſtitution before that letter was publiſhed. Not that I am of opinion, that the counſels, the promiſes, and the hopes, which the Princes gave his Majeſty, would ever have prevailed upon him to refuſe entirely his acceptance of the Conſtitutional Act. The certainty of the dangers which ſo energetic a determination would have raiſed, muſt always have been enough to divert the King from it; but it was more than probable, that if the letter of the Princes, and the declaration ſigned at Pilnitz, had been known before the Conſtitutional Act had been preſented to his Majeſty, the Aſſembly might not have inſiſted ſo imperiouſly on the pretended neceſſity of a pure and unconditional acceptance, and might have thought themſelves happy, if they had obtained a proviſional one, founded upon motives drawn even from

* See Appendix, No. xxiii.

the

the King's ſituation, and conformable to his real ſentiments, and not upon comments, of which the confuſion, contradictions, ſtyle, and want of dignity, clearly ſhowed that the letter which contained them, and which the King had thought himſelf obliged to ſign, was no leſs foreign to his heart than that which was ſent to the Ambaſſadors ſome months before, under the name of *M. de Montmorin*. Thoſe two Conſtitutional papers were in reality the productions of the ſame faction.

The proclamation of the Conſtitutional Act was made at Paris on Sunday the 18th of September, with great ſolemnity. The commencement of the ceremony was announced by ſeveral diſcharges of artillery.—The Mayor ſet out from the *Hotel-de-Ville*, at eight o'clock in the morning, accompanied by the Municipal Body; a numerous detachment of the National Guard on foot and on horſeback; heralds, in their full dreſſes, and a band of muſicians. After making the proclamation on the ſteps of the *Hotel-de-Ville*, at the *Carouſel*, and at the *Place-Vendome*, the proceſſion went to the *Champ-de-Mars*, where the ſix diviſions of the National Guard, the members of the Tribunals,

Tribunals, the Department, the Committees of the forty-eight Sections, and the Juſtices of Peace, were previouſly aſſembled. The Mayor placed himſelf upon the Altar of the Country, and at the ſame time there was a diſcharge of 130 pieces of cannon. He then proclaimed the Conſtitutional Act, amidſt the clapping of the ſpectators, and cries, a thouſand times repeated, of—*Vive la Nation!*

At five o'clock in the afternoon, a baloon loaded with Conſtitutional emblems, roſe majeſtically from the middle of the *Champs-Eliſées*, and paſſed directly over the town. At night the illuminations were general; thoſe of the public buildings and walks, afforded a moſt magnificent ſpectacle. The outer walks on each ſide of the *Champs-Eliſées* were ornamented with feſtoons of ſmall lamps, hung from tree to tree, from the *Place Louis XV.* to *l'Etoile.* The inner parts of theſe fields were alſo illuminated, and at certain diſtances were ſeen amphitheatres filled with muſicians. *M. de la Fayette* made his appearance at ten o'clock at night, accompanied by his Aide-de-Camps, gathering the popular homage which the ſincerity of

of his devotion to the New Conſtitution merited. The King, the Queen, the Dauphin, and Madame Royale, arrived ſome moments after *M. de la Fayette*. Their carriage was ſoon ſurrounded by an immenſe concourſe of ſpectators of all claſſes, and the *Champs-Eliſées* rung for nearly a quarter of an hour with the ſhouts of *Vive le Roi!* ſometimes mingled with thoſe of *Vive la Reine! Vive la Nation! Vive la Liberté! Vive la Fayette!*

Among thoſe who cried *Vive le Roi!* ſeveral were ſeen endeavouring to conceal their tears, and their countenances expreſſed a melancholy foreboding: in general, among the People, that lively and free gaiety by which they uſually diſplayed their content, was not to be found; the muſicians in vain played the patriotic airs moſt adapted to inſpire the ſong and dance; nobody ſung, nobody had a deſire to dance. The People did nothing but run from one public edifice to another, to ſee illuminations, and they miſtook for joy what in reality was foolery. In fact, what was there in this Conſtitutional Act, proclaimed with ſo much magnificence, to delight the People of the Capital? They had

had never been ſubject to tithes or feudal ſervices, and of courſe, their ſuppreſſion was a matter of indifference as it regarded them. The metaphyſical declaration of the Rights of Man and of a Citizen, the diſtinction of three powers, with their reſpective attributes, &c. &c. were to them words without ideas. What could they make, even of the dogmas of the ſovereignty of the People and political Liberty, after they had been fired upon in the affair of the *Champ-de-Mars?* For two years they had been made to ſing *ça ira, ça ira*; but every thing went from bad to worſe, and the time when the Aſſembly concluded this fatal Conſtitution, without permitting the King to propoſe any alteration in it, was a period of diſorder and anarchy throughout the Kingdom, notwithſtanding the effrontery with which the Preſident (*Thouret*) had aſſerted, in his anſwer to the King, *that the moſt complete execution of the Conſtitutional Decrees in every part of the Empire, atteſted the general aſſent.*

Where then was that pretended complete execution to be found? Was it at Toulon, in the midſt of the dead and wounded, who had been fired at before the eyes of the Directory

rectory and Municipality? Was it at Marſeilles, where two gentlemen had been maſſacred with impunity, under the common pretext of ariſtocracy? Was it at Arles, which was in a ſtate of inſurrection, and upon the point of being beſieged? Was it at Bayeux, where the Abbé *Fauchet*, the Conſtitutional Biſhop, decreed to be arreſted and proſecuted, even by order of the National Aſſembly, had received triumphal honours, and was deputed to the next Legiſlature? Was it at Blois, where the Commandant, devoted to death, for attempting to execute the Decrees, had been compelled to ſend away a faithful regiment, and ſubmit to a revolted battalion which was protected by the Club, the Municipality, and the National Guard? Was it at Niſmes, where the regiment of Dauphiné, when quitting the city by order of the Miniſter, had been detained in it by order of the People, and of the *friends of the Conſtitution*, who ſome months before had aſſiſted them to get rid of their Officers? Was it at Toulouſe where, in ſpite of the decrees, the Adminiſtrative Bodies had ordered all the prieſts, who had not taken the oath, to leave the city in three days, and to remove to four leagues diſtance from

from it? Finally, was it in the payment of the taxes; in reſpect for property; in the payment of the manerial rents not ſuppreſſed; in the toleration of the Roman Catholics; in the return of public and private ſafety; in the energy of the police; in the independence of the courts of juſtice; in the ſubordination of the army; in the liberty of opinions; in ſubmiſſion to the legal power of the Departments and Municipalities; in obedience to the ſecondary conſtituted authorities, or to the chief of the Executive Power, &c.?

Theſe doubtleſs are circumſtances which ought to have exiſted, to juſtify the aſſertion of the Preſident, and to manifeſt the advantages of the New Conſtitution; but the contrary every where was the caſe at that very moment, and conſequently the Preſident was an impoſtor, and the Conſtitution but a code of inſurrection and anarchy.

Such was the ſtate of France, when it pleaſed the Aſſembly to ſee in the King's acceptance of the Conſtitutional Act, the period of the Conſtituent Power which they had arrogated to themſelves. They therefore modeſtly reſumed their functions purely legiſlative, and occupied themſelves in expe-

expediting the different reports with which their Committees were charged. They finally fixed the 30th of September as the day of their diſſolution, and decreed the ſuppreſſion of the High National Court proviſionally eſtabliſhed at Orleans, now rendered uſeleſs by the amneſty granted for all offences relative to the Revolution, the crime of having proteſted againſt it being the only one regarded as unpardonable; and the Aſſembly decreed, upon the motion of *Adrien Duport*, "That all perſons "who had ſigned any papers, whoſe object "was to declare, that the Conſtitution accept-"ed by the King ought not to be regarded as "the law of the Kingdom, and binding upon "every Frenchman, ſhould be incapable "of holding any office civil or military, "and if employed, ſhould be diſmiſſed, "unleſs they retracted the ſaid declarations "within a month, and took the civic "oath."

The decrees without number, which were made during the laſt Sittings, were almoſt all of them adopted without diſcuſſion *, and upon the bare propoſal of the report-

* I ſhall content myſelf with citing, among the moſt

reporter. The only ones which gave place to ſome debates were; 1ſt, That by which the Aſſembly again ſeizing the Conſtituent Power, but only in reſpect to the Colonies, decreed, upon the report of *Barnave*, that their Exterior Government ſhould be excluſively regulated by the Legiſlative Aſſembly, with the King's ſanction, and that the laws concerning the ſituation of perſons not free, and the political ſituation of people of colour, and free negroes, as well as the regulations relative to the execution of the ſaid laws, ſhould be made by the Colonial Aſſemblies, executed proviſionally with the approbation of the Governors, and ſent to receive the King's ſanction, all anterior Decrees notwithſtanding, &c. &c. September 24th.

2dly, The Decree by which the Aſſembly, acknowledged the immenſe ſervices which

remarkable, that which concerned the police and juſtice, in the ports and arſenals; that which organized the Comtat of Avignon; that relating to the Notaries of Paris, and to the reimburſement of all the Royal Notaries; that which admitted the Jews to all the rights of an active citizen, on condition of taking the civic oath; and a great many of the articles of the penal code.

the Clubs had rendered to the Revolution but conſidering the dangers of their undue popularity; of their affiliations; of their correſpondence; of their journals; of the exaggerations of their zeal, &c. &c. divested them of all political exiſtence, forbade them all interference whatever, whether by action or inſpection, with the acts of the Conſtituted Powers and the legal authorities, and decreed, that they ſhould not under any pretext, aſſume a collective name, either to form petitions or deputations, in attending public ceremonies, or for any other object, under pain of being proſecuted by the *Procureurs-Generaux-Syndics* of the Departments, of being condemned by the tribunals to be ſtruck out for two years from the civic liſt, and of being declared incapable of exerciſing any public office during that time.

Robeſpierre, ſhocked *at the perfidy, ingratitude*, and *machiaveliſm* of this Decree, ſhouted, and the patriots of the Galleries partook his indignation as violently as he could deſire. So ſerious a blow aimed at the high power which awaited him in the Jacobin Club, and which was ſo amply to compenſate the ceſſation of his Legiſlative and Conſtitutional functions, was in his eyes

eyes a *manifeſt violation of the Conſtitution; a horrid infringement of Liberty; of the Sovereignty of the People; the idea of breaking ſo precious, ſo neceſſary an inſtrument as the Popular Societies had been, and ſtill were, could only have been conceived by an enemy to the Country; and the calumnies which were laviſhed on them, were the petty means commonly uſed by noted petty ſpirits, who were at once the diſgrace and ſcourge of Revolutions.* Notwithſtanding theſe declamations and abuſes, the Aſſembly, by a great majority, adopted the Decree propoſed by the Committee.

The order of the day to diſcuſs the famous report concerning the public and National education, drawn up in the name of the Committee of the Conſtitution, by the late Biſhop of *Autun* was not attended to. As the moſt rapid examination of ſo voluminous a plan, would take up many more Sittings than there remained for the Aſſembly to devote to it, they reſolved to leave it for the ſucceeding Legiſlature, notwithſtanding the repreſentations of the author, and the reductions to which he conſented. From this plan were afterwards formed the National

tional Inſtitute, the Primary Schools, the Schools of the Diſtrict, the Central, Special, and Normal Schools, and all that Revolutionary nomenclature, by means of which miſerable ſchools of irreligion and Jacobiniſm have been ſubſtituted for good colleges.

The Aſſembly were approaching the moment of their diſſolution, and for ſome days the Capital and the Provinces were overwhelmed with pamphlets and placards, in which they were called upon, in a very high tone, to give in their accounts. They could not certainly be called upon for an account of caſh, as they had not had the management of the Treaſury, but as, ſince Mr. *Necker's* retreat, they had made themſelves maſters of the whole Adminiſtration of the Finances, they could be called upon, like other Officers of Government, for an account of their Adminiſtration. Although they were exempt from reſponſibility in the exerciſe of the Legiſlative Power, they could not, without an extreme abſurdity unknown among civilized Nations, pretend to the ſame prerogative in thoſe caſes in which they had interfered with, and taking upon them the

the functions of either the Executive or Miniſterial Power. What ſecurity in fact could there be for the public monies, or for private fortune, in a State in which Repreſentatives of the Nation, aſſembled as a Legiſlative Body, ſhould be authoriſed by that title to eſtabliſh what taxes they judged proper, and expend the produce of them at their pleaſure, without being ſubject to any reſponſibility or account? At leaſt then, it was the duty of the Aſſembly to preſent the Nation with an authentic and comparative ſtatement of the condition in which they had found the Finances, and that in which they left them; and ſuch was the object of the motion made by the Abbé *Maury* in the Sitting of the 28th of September, which the members of the *Coté-Droit* had attended in very great numbers to ſupport. He moved for the execution of the Decree of the 14th of February preceding, enacting, that the Aſſembly ſhould not ſeparate till they had delivered in their accounts. He offered to prove, that the account which *M. de Monteſquiou* had read ſome days before, as his own private performance, which was not avowed by the

Committee of Finances, and not diſcuſſed by the Aſſembly, was but a fabrication, a tiſſue of impoſtures*, and could not conſequently diſcharge the engagement into which the Aſſembly had entered.

This motion created a dreadful tumult.—The Abbé *Maury* was interrupted at almoſt every word, by cries of, *To the order of the day! Hold your tongue! Down, down!*

* A writer equally eſtimable for his talents and his opinions (*M. Bergaſſe*) publiſhed ſome preliminary obſervations on the pretended account read to the Aſſembly by *M. de Monteſquiou*, and removed in this firſt ſketch ſome ſerious errors. He proved, for example, that *M. Amelot*, and the Committee of Alienation had ſtated only at 2,452,227,758 livres, the eſtimate of the National property ſold and to be ſold, including the woods and foreſts declared unalienable; and that in September, *M. de Monteſquiou* ſtated the value of the ſame property at 2,900,080,082 livres without including the woods and foreſts, with which, according to his ſtatement, they formed a capital of three thouſand three hundred millions; from which there appeared a difference of eight hundred and forty-eight millions between the two accounts. He proved as clearly an error of more than a thouſand millions exaggerated upon ſix articles of extraordinary receipts; he announced at the ſame time, that ſtill ſtranger conſequences were to be expected, when he diſcuſſed *M. de Monteſquiou's* account more minutely.

Get

Get out of the Tribune! To the Abbaye! The groſſeſt invectives were poured forth upon him, as well as upon the members of the *Coté-Droit*, who ſupported his motion, and were continually repeating *deliver in your accounts! Adrien Duport* maintained, in a long ſpeech, which was often interrupted by the murmurs of the *Coté-Droit*, that, as the Aſſembly had not the management of the monies, they were not liable to account.—"The expences, of whatever nature they "were," ſaid he, "have been regulated by "Decrees, and the application of the dif-"ferent ſums has been alſo made by De-"crees. This is the only ſhare which the "National Aſſembly have taken in this "eſſential part of the Adminiſtration."

Was not this confeſſion the plaineſt acknowledgement poſſible, that the Adminiſtration of the Finances had been entirely and excluſively exerciſed by the Aſſembly, and that conſequently, it was only from them that accounts relative to that Adminiſtration could be demanded, except ſuch as the Caſhier and Commiſſioners of the Treaſury were bound to render? However, after a long and indecent debate, the motion of the Abbé *Maury*, being conſidered as Coun-

ter-Revolutionary, was rejected for the order of the day.

In fact, it is more than probable, that if theſe accounts had been accurately ſtated, the Nation, ſeeing that the Aſſembly, inſtead of covering, as they ought and could ſo eaſily, the old *deficit* of the Finances, had enormouſly increaſed it by ſquandering and peculation, would have been exaſperated at their Repreſentatives, for the abuſe of their powers, would at laſt have had their eyes opened to their quackery and ignorance, would have deteſted their work, and abjured their extravagant Conſtitution, which violated or endangered all rights and all property, and left the creditors of the State no other ſecurity than a fine phraſe *, and thouſands of millions of Aſſignats, the mortgage for which was daily conſumed by the Revolution. The Abbé *Maury's* motion, viewed in this light, muſt doubtleſs appear very Counter-Revolutionary.

A *Te Deum* however was chanted, with the greateſt ſolemnity, on Sunday the 25th

* We may remember that the Order of the *Tiers*, having conſtituted themſelves into a National Aſſembly, in the Tennis-Court at Verſailles, gave the creditors of the State *the ſafeguard of the French probity.*

of

of September, in the church of *Notre-Dame*, as a thankſgiving for the finiſhing and acceptance of this Conſtitution. On the ſame day the King, wiſhing to give a new opportunity to public rejoicing, cauſed the Tuileries and the *Champs-Eliſées*, to be illuminated at his own expence, with ſtill greater magnificence and taſte than they had been the preceding Sunday. His Majeſty, when he announced this intention to the Mayor of Paris, ſent him from himſelf and the Queen, 50,000 livres, to be diſtributed among the poor of the Capital. The King was determined not to confine himſelf to actions of which the ſincerity might be ſuſpected. Religiouſly faithful to his oath, he as ſincerely ſet about the means of cauſing the Conſtitutional Act to be executed, as if he had accepted it moſt freely. His Majeſty made known his ſentiment in this reſpect by a proclamation, in which he addreſſed the Conſtituted Authorites, the National Guard, and the Citizens of every claſs and party, with invitations and counſels, replete with wiſdom, tending to inſpire diſpoſitions moſt favourable to the eſtabliſhment and trial of the new ſyſtem.

At

At length the laſt Sitting of this Aſſembly, which had now exiſted two years and four months, opened on the 30th of September. The Aſſembly being informed on the evening before, that the King would come to cloſe the Seſſions, thought it neceſſary to regulate finally the ceremonial to be obſerved in future by the Legiſlative Body, in regard to his Majeſty, and in conſequence decreed :—

1ſt, That when the King entered the Hall of the Legiſlative Body, the Aſſembly ſhould receive him ſtanding, and that they ſhould be ſeated and covered, when the King was ſeated and covered.

2dly, That the King ſhould have a chair wrought with *fleurs-de-lis*, placed in the middle of the raiſed floor; that the Miniſters ſhould be behind him, and that the Preſident ſhould be on his right, and keep his uſual chair.

3dly, That no perſon ſhould addreſs the King, without being authoriſed by an expreſs Decree of the Aſſembly previouſly paſſed.

While they were waiting the arrival of his Majeſty, the Department and Municipality

pality of Paris, came to congratulate the Aſſembly upon *the happy concluſion of their labours.* The fate which has attended the Conſtitution of 1791, renders the predictions and eulogiums addreſſed to its authors by the ſpeakers of the two Deputations very remarkable.

" Gentlemen," ſaid *M. Bailly*, " the City of Paris comes for the laſt time to offer its homage to the firſt Repreſentatives of a powerful and free Nation. You have been inveſted with the greateſt power that can be beſtowed on men. You have ruled the deſtiny of all the French; and this day your power expires. But another day, and you will be no more. You will be regretted diſintereſtedly; you will be praiſed without flattery, not by us our children, your good deeds muſt praiſe you. How many memorable days do you leave for the reflection of men! What days were thoſe in which you conſtituted the firſt Repreſentation of the French Nation, in which you ſwore before-hand to the Conſtitution, while it was yet in the womb of time, and in your genius! Legiſlators of France, we announce to you the bleſſings of poſterity, which com-

commence from this day. You will, in the ideas of men, be joined and mixed with the legiſlators of Nations, who have founded the happineſs of their country, and merited the veneration of ages. Our regret will follow you as well as our admiration and our reſpect."

The ſpeaker of the Department (*Paſtoret*) carried the hyperbole, impoſture and delirium ſtill farther. "Liberty," ſaid he, "had fled beyond the ſeas, or had hidden herſelf in the mountains. You have raiſed her Throne again among us. Deſpotiſm had effaced all the pages of the book of Nature; you have reſtored to it that immortal declaration—that decalogue of Freemen *. Protection was for the rich, yet the taxes which was the price of protection, was only paid by the poor. They were even ſometimes doubled upon them, as if the earth had produced two harveſts †. You have avenged them for this long injuſtice. Equality was ſo altered, that even the defence of

* This fine *decalogue* contains ſeventeen articles.

† This is a groſs calumny. Never did ſuch abuſes exiſt in France.

the

the country was conſidered as a privilege; now every citizen has become a ſoldier.

" You have rendered the Miniſtry of the Altar more venerable, after it had been degraded, ſometimes by the indigence of the paſtors, and ſometimes by the riches of the pontiffs. Not ſatisfied with eſtabliſhing the nobleſt Conſtitution in the world, you have given yourſelves up to ſuch labours upon the laws, that they who aſpire to the glory of one day imitating you, have perhaps at times ſaid, in the jealous tranſport of an honourable ambition, what *Alexander* ſaid of *Philip: he will leave me nothing to conquer.*

" More than one Nation begin to arouſe from ſlavery. Every where will be felt this great truth, revealed by philoſophy, that the ſtrength of Tyrants conſiſts entirely in the patience of the People."

At three o'clock, the King, accompanied by the Miniſters, entered the Aſſembly. The Hall rang with clapping, and cries of *Vive le Roi!* which were repeated with tranſports at every ſentence of his Majeſty's ſpeech, which was as follows:

" GEN-

" GENTLEMEN,

" After finiſhing the Conſtitution, you have determined that this day ſhall end your labours. Perhaps it might have been deſirable that this Seſſion ſhould have continued for ſome time longer, that you might yourſelves have tried your work, and added to your labours, thoſe, which being already prepared, only want to be perfected, and all thoſe, the neceſſity of which might have ſtruck legiſlators enlightened by an experience of almoſt three years; but you have doubtleſs thought it of importance to make the interval between the finiſhing of the Conſtitution, and the end of the labours of the Conſtituent Body, as ſhort as poſſible, in order to mark with more preciſion by the contraſt, the difference there is between the functions of the Conſtituent Body and the duties of Legiſlatures.

" Having accepted the Conſtitution, which you have given to the Kingdom, I will employ all the ſtrength and means I have received from it, to ſecure to the laws the reſpect and obedience which are due to them. I have made known to the Foreign Powers my acceptance of the Conſtitution;

and

and my mind is, and ever will be, bent on the meaſures which may ſecure abroad the ſafety and tranquillity of the Kingdom. I will not be leſs vigilant and firm in cauſing the Conſtitution to be executed at home, and in preventing it from being altered.

". " For you, Gentlemen, who in a long and painful career, have ſhewn an indefatigable zeal in your labours, there ſtill remains a duty to fulfill, when you are diſperſed over the ſurface of this Empire; that is, to teach your fellow citizens the true ſpirit of the laws which you have made for them; to ſet thoſe right who miſconceive them; to purify and unite all opinions, by the example you will ſet of the love of order, and ſubmiſſion to the laws. Gentlemen, when you are returned to your reſpective homes, I depend upon your being the interpreters of my ſentiments to your fellow citizens. Tell them all, that the King will ever be their firſt and moſt faithful friend; that he requires their love; and that he cannot be happy but with them and for them. The hope of contributing to their happineſs will ſuſtain my courage, as the ſatisfaction of ſucceeding in it will be my ſweeteſt recompence."

After the acclamations and repeated clapping, which followed the King's ſpeech, the Preſident made the following anſwer to his Majeſty:

"SIRE,

"The National Aſſembly having attained the period of their career, enjoy at this moment the firſt fruits of their labours.

"Convinced that the Government moſt congenial to France is that which reconciles the reſpectable prerogative of the Throne with the unalienable rights of the People, they have given the State a Conſtitution, which equally ſecures Royalty and the National Liberty.

"The fate of France depends upon the ſpeedy confirmation of that Conſtitution; and all the means that can enſure its ſucceſs, conſpire to accelerate it.

"Soon, Sire, ſhall the civic wiſh which your Majeſty has juſt expreſſed, be accompliſhed; ſoon returned to our homes, ſhall we give examples of obedience to the laws, after having made them, and teach that there can be no liberty, but in reſpecting the Conſtituted Authorities.

"Our ſucceſſors, charged with the awful depoſit

depoſit of the ſafety of the Empire, will neither miſconceive the object of their high miſſion, nor its Conſtitutional limits; nor the means of performing it well. They are and they will always ſhew themſelves worthy of the confidence which has placed the fate of the Nation in their hands.

"And you, Sire, have already done nearly every thing. Your Majeſty has put an end to the Revolution, by ſo ſincere and frank an acceptance of the Conſtitution.—You have diſcouraged our enemies abroad; reſtored confidence at home; re-eſtabliſhed the maſter-ſpring of Government, and prepared a uſeful vigour for the Adminiſtration.

"Your heart, Sire, has already received the reward of it; it has enjoyed the affecting ſight of the public joy, and the ardent teſtimonies of the gratitude and love of the French. Theſe ſentiments, neceſſary to the happineſs of good Kings, are due to you, Sire! They will ever be yours; and their energy will increaſe, in proportion as the Nation ſhall enjoy the conſtant efforts of your Majeſty, to ſecure the common happineſs, by the maintenance of the Conſtitution."

Freſh clapping, ſtill mixed with cries of *Vive le Roi!* attended his Majeſty, when he left the Aſſembly.

Target then read the minute of this Sitting. As ſoon as the reading was over, the Preſident roſe, and pronounced theſe words in the moſt ſolemn tone: "The Conſtituent "National Aſſembly declare, that their miſ- "ſion is finiſhed, and that they terminate "their Sittings at this moment."

At leaving the Hall, ſome hundreds of women, children, and the patriots of the Galleries, ſurrounded *Petion* and *Robeſpierre*, and overwhelmed them with careſſes and homage. Civic Crowns were placed upon their head; the populace unharneſſed their horſes, and wanted to draw their carriages, but they had the modeſty to refuſe this exceſs of honour. During this ſcene, ſome of the principal members of the Conſtitutional Party, formerly objects of this popular idolatry, were hiſſed, hooted, and inſulted by the multitude.

Thus terminated this guilty Aſſembly, whoſe vanity, ambition, cupidity, ingratitude, ignorance, and audacity, have overturned the moſt ancient and nobleſt Monarchy of Europe, and rendered France the

Theatre of every crime, of every calamity, and of the moſt horrible cataſtrophes. Can theſe treacherous Repreſentatives ever juſtify themſelves in the eyes of the Nation, for having ſo unworthily abuſed their confidence and their powers?

The ſubſequent events of the reign of *Louis XVI.* took place after my nomination to the Miniſtry, and are related very circumſtantially in the PRIVATE MEMOIRS which I have already publiſhed.

THE END.

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A few remaining Copies of the following Work by the ſame Author, may be had of Meſſrs. CADELL and DAVIES.

PRIVATE MEMOIRS

Relative to the laſt Year of the Reign of LOUIS XVI. late King of France, adorned with five Portraits elegantly engraved, from original Pictures of the KING, QUEEN, PRINCE-ROYAL, MADAME-ROYAL, and the PRINCESS-ELIZABETH. Three vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s. in Boards.

APPENDIX.

[N° 1.]

Récit fait, le 16 *Juillet* 1789, *à l'Assemblée Nationale, par* M. MOUNIER, *membre de la députation qu'elle avoit envoyée à Paris le jour précédent.*

MESSIEURS, les commissaires nommés par l'Assemblée Nationale, pour contribuer au rétablissement du calme dans la ville de Paris, sont partis hier de Versailles, à trois heures après midi. Dans le lieu même de leur départ, les acclamations, les applaudissemens commencèrent, et dès ce moment ils ne cessèrent plus.

Pendant toute la route, le peuple se rendoit en foule sur leur passage, les combloit de bénédictions, et se livroit à tous les transports de la plus vive allégresse. Les militaires partageoient les mêmes sentimens. Officiers et soldats, étrangers et françois, tous paroissoient animés du même esprit. Tous les regards exprimoient l'attendrissement, toutes les bouches, le patriotisme et l'humanité. Nous marchions au milieu d'une foule

immense, mais nous ne pouvions y avoir que des amis et des frères.

Entrés dans Paris, une brigade de maréchaussée, des gardes de la prévôté et un trompette qui nous avoient joints sur la route, marchoient devant nous, et annonçoient l'arrivée des députés. Des bourgeois armés, mêlés avec des soldats, nous environnoient pour former notre cortège.

Arrivés à la place Louis XV, nous descendons de nos voitures. Une garde nombreuse nous escorte : un peuple innombrable s'offre de tous côtés à nos regards. Les bourgeois et les soldats armés, sont rangés en haie sur notre passage. Les spectateurs tâchent de donner essor au sentiment qui les oppresse, par tous les signes de la plus vive affection. C'est pour eux une vive jouissance que de serrer les mains d'un des membres de l'Assemblée Nationale. L'air est incessamment frappé des applaudissemens, des cris de joie, auxquels se joint le bruit des tambours et des instrumens de musique. Les citoyens se félicitent, s'embrassent réciproquement. Tous les yeux sont mouillés de larmes ; par tout se montre l'ivresse du sentiment. De toutes parts on s'écrie, *vive le Roi, vive la Nation, vive les Députés !*

Jamais fête publique ne fut aussi belle, aussi touchante ; jamais on ne vit des milliers de citoyens se presser ainsi sur les pas de leurs représentans, pour contempler dans cette marche auguste et solennelle, l'image de la liberté. L'his-

toire n'offre point de pareil exemple, l'histoire ne parviendra jamais à retracer ce que nous avons vu, et sur-tout ce que nous avons senti.

Arrivés à l'Hôtel-de-Ville, quel beau spectacle se présente! La place est couverte d'une foule prodigieuse de citoyens armés et non armés. Les mêmes acclamations que nous avions entendues sur notre passage, sont sans cesse répétées. Entrés dans la salle principale, la foule est si nombreuse, elle est si transportée de joie, que le silence s'obtient avec peine. Enfin, M. le marquis de la Fayette annonce que le Roi est venu au milieu de l'Assemblée Nationale, sans pompe, sans appareil. Il leur fait lecture du discours que le Roi a prononcé; il leur rappelle les témoignages d'amour et de sensibilité donnés au monarque par les représentans de la Nation, et ce beau moment où Sa Majesté est retournée à pied au château, au milieu de l'Assemblée Nationale et des habitans de Versailles, gardé par leur amour et leur inviolable fidélité.

On répond par de nombreux applaudissemens et des cris de *vive le Roi!* Ensuite, M. le comte de Lally-Tollendal prend la parole. Après avoir donné au patriotisme, à la fermeté des Parisiens, un juste tribut d'éloges; après avoir exprimé la douleur qu'avoient éprouvé les représentans de la Nation, en apprenant les malheurs de la Capitale; après avoir décrit les scènes touchantes de Versailles, il parle de la liberté et de la patrie; il parle

du Roi, de ses vertus, des devoirs des François, avec un ton si noble, si propre à émouvoir, avec une éloquence si persuasive, que la foule des auditeurs est entraînée, que l'ivresse est au comble. L'amour de la patrie, l'amour du Roi exaltent toutes les ames. L'orateur est pressé dans les bras de ceux qui l'entourent: une couronne de fleurs lui est offerte; sa modestie la repousse; il en fait hommage à l'Assemblée Nationale. Malgré ses efforts, elle est placée sur sa tête. On veut ensuite le présenter au peuple assemblé sur la place. Il résiste en vain; il est porté vers une fenêtre, d'où il reçoit les applaudissemens du peuple.

Après le discours de M. de Lally-Tollendal, Mgr. l'Archevêque de Paris a fait de nouvelles exhortations pour le rétablissement de la paix, et proposé de se rendre à l'église de Notre-Dame pour offrir à Dieu des actions de graces.

Le président de l'assemblée des Électeurs a prononcé un discours qui respiroit le zèle et le patriotisme. Il a exhorté le peuple à oublier tout ressentiment, et il en a reçu la promesse.

M. le duc de Liancour a annoncé que Sa Majesté autorisoit le rétablissement de la milice bourgeoise.

M. le comte de Clermont-Tonnerre a parlé ensuite avec beaucoup de succès; il a été fort applaudi.

On a déclaré à M. le marquis de la Fayette

qu'il étoit nommé Commandant général de la milice Parisienne.

Le grand nombre de citoyens qui remplissoient la salle de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, conjuroit les commissaires, par les plus vives, les plus pressantes instances, de demander le retour de M. Necker. Ils ont exprimé le vœu de voir confier à M. Bailly la place de Maire de la Ville. Cet excellent citoyen, ainsi que Mgr. l'Archevêque de Paris, ont reçu des témoignages bien flatteurs et bien mérités de l'affection et de l'estime des Parisiens.

Les commissaires de l'Assemblée Nationale se sont mis ensuite en marche pour l'Église de Notre-Dame dans le même ordre. On a chanté le *Te Deum*, et on a fait prêter serment à M. de la Fayette de remplir fidèlement les fonctions de général. Le serment a été prêté au bruit du canon, des tambours et d'une musique militaire.

Après le *Te Deum*, les commissaires se sont rendus chez Mgr. l'Archevêque. A mesure qu'ils sortoient de l'Archevêché, ils étoient conduits par une garde bourgeoise au lieu de leur départ, et recevoient sur leur passage les honneurs militaires, au milieu des acclamations des citoyens.

Je dois ajouter que, dans toutes les rues de Paris comme dans la salle de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, on demandoit à grands cris l'éloignement des nouveaux ministres, et le retour de M. Necker. Les habitans de Paris envioient le bonheur dont avoit joui l'Assemblée Nationale, et témoignoient le

désir de voir leur monarque au milieu d'eux, comme nous l'avions eu au milieu de nous.

Ainsi Paris va jouir des douceurs de la paix. La milice bourgeoise préviendra tous les désordres : elle sera commandée par un héros dont le nom est cher à la liberté dans les deux mondes, mais par un héros françois qui sait tout à la fois aimer son prince et abhorrer l'esclavage.

Nous devons des regrets sans doute à tous les maux que la Capitale a soufferts. Puisse-t-elle ne jamais revoir les terribles momens où la loi n'a plus d'empire ; mais puisse-t-elle ne plus éprouver le joug du despotisme ! Elle est digne de la liberté ; elle la mérite par son courage et son énergie.

A qui peut-on reprocher le sang répandu ? N'est-ce pas aux perfides conseillers qui ont pu surprendre la religion du Roi, jusqu'au point de faire interdire par des soldats, aux représentans de la Nation l'entrée du lieu ordinaire de leurs séances, de transformer l'Assemblée Nationale en un lit de justice ; de rassembler ensuite à grands frais une armée, dans un moment où les finances sont dans le plus grand désordre, où l'on éprouve une affreuse disette ; de porter cette armée à Paris, à Versailles et dans les environs, d'alarmer ainsi le peuple sur la sûreté personnelle de ses représentans ; de placer l'appareil de la guerre auprès du sanctuaire de la liberté et d'éloigner des ministres vertueux qui jouissoient de la con-

fiance publique ; d'intercepter le passage sur les routes de Paris à Versailles, et de traiter les sujets du Roi comme les ennemis de l'État.

Sans doute, il n'est aucun de nous qui n'eût désiré de prévenir, par tous les moyens possibles les troubles de Paris ; mais les ennemis de la Nation n'ont pas craint de les faire naître. Ces troubles vont cesser ; la constitution sera établie ; elle nous consolera, elle consolera les Parisiens de tous les malheurs précédens ; et parmi les actes du désespoir du peuple, en pleurant sur la mort de plusieurs citoyens, il sera peut-être difficile de résister à un sentiment de satisfaction, en voyant la destruction de la Bastille, où, sur les ruines de cette horrible prison du despotisme, s'élèvera bientôt, suivant le vœu des citoyens de Paris le statue d'un bon Roi, restorateur de la liberté et du bonheur de la France.

[N°. 2.]

Lettre du Président de l'Assemblée Nationale à Mr. Necker.

A Versailles, le 16 Juillet 1789.

L'Assemblée Nationale, Monsieur, avoit déjà consigné dans un acte solennel, que vous emportiez son estime et ses regrets ; cet honorable témoignage vous a été adressé de sa part et vous devez l'avoir reçu.

Ce matin elle avoit arrêté que le Roi seroit supplié de vous rappeller au ministère. C'étoit tout-à-la-fois son vœu qu'elle exprimoit et celui de la capitale qui vous réclamoit à grands cris.

Le Roi a daigné prévenir notre demande, votre rappel nous a été annoncé de sa part, la reconnoissance nous a aussitôt conduits vers Sa Majesté, et elle nous a donné une nouvelle marque de confiance en nous remettant la lettre qu'elle vous avoit écrite et en nous chargeant de vous l'adresser.

L'Assemblée Nationale, Monsieur, vous presse de vous rendre au désir de Sa Majesté, vos talens et vos vertus ne pouvoient recevoir ni une récompense plus glorieuse, ni un plus puissant encouragement.

Vous justifierez notre confiance, vous ne préférerez pas votre propre tranquillité à la tranquillité publique.

Vous ne vous refuserez pas aux intentions bienfaisantes de Sa Majesté pour ses peuples, tous les momens sont précieux. La Nation, son Roi et ses représentans vous attendent.

Signés, JEAN-GEORGE, Archevêque de Vienne, *président*, le comte DE LALLY-TOLENDAL, MOUNIER, *Secrétaires*.

[N°. 2.] (*bis.*)

Lettre du Roi, à Mr. Necker.

Versailles, 16 Juillet 1789.

Je vous avois écrit, Monsieur, que dans un tems plus calme je vous donnerois des preuves de mes sentimens; mais cependant le désir que les Etats-Généraux, et la ville de Paris témoignent, m'engage à hâter le moment de votre retour. Je vous invite donc à revenir le plutôt possible reprendre auprès de moi votre place. Vous m'avez parlé en me quittant de votre attachement; la preuve que j'en demande est la plus grande que vous puissiez me donner dans cette circonstance.

Signé LOUIS.

[N°. 3.]

Réponse de Mr. Necker au Roi.

SIRE,

Je touchois au port que tant d'agitations me faisoient désirer, lorsque jai reçu la lettre dont Votre Majesté m'a honoré. Je vais retourner auprès d'elle pour recevoir ses ordres, et juger de plus près, si en effet mon zèle infatigable et mon dévouement sans réserve, peuvent encore servir à Votre Majesté. Je crois qu'elle me dé-

sire, puisqu'elle daigne m'en assurer, et que sa bonne foi m'est connue. Mais je la supplie aussi de croire sur ma parole que tout ce qui séduit la plupart des hommes élevés aux grandes places n'a plus de charme pour moi, et que sans un sentiment de vertu digne de l'estime du Roi, c'est dans la retraite seule que j'aurois nourri l'amour et l'intérêt dont je ne cesserai d'être pénétré pour la gloire et le bonheur de Sa Majesté.

Je suis avec le plus profond respect, &c. &c.

Signé NECKER.

[N°. 8.] (*bis.*)

Réponse de Mr. Necker à l'Assemblée.

MESSIEURS,

Sensiblement ému par de longues agitations et considérant déjà de près le moment où il est tems de songer à la retraite du monde et des affaires, je me préparois à ne plus suivre que de mes vœux ardens le destin de la France et le bonheur d'une Nation à laquelle je suis attaché par tant de liens, lorsque j'ai reçu la lettre dont vous m'avez honoré. Il est hors de mon pouvoir, il est au-dessus de mes foibles moyens de répondre dignement à cette marque si précieuse de votre estime et de votre bienveillance; mais je dois au moins, Messieurs, vous aller porter

l'hommage de ma respectueuse reconnoissance, mon devouement ne vous est pas nécessaire; mais il importe à mon bonheur de prouver au Roi et à la Nation Françoise que rien ne peut ralentir un zèle qui fait depuis long-tems l'intérêt de ma vie.

Je suis, &c.

Signé NECKER.

[N°. 4.]

Réponse du Duc de Liancour Président de l'Assemblée au discours de Mr. Necker.

SÉANCE DU 29 JUILLET 1790.

" MONSIEUR, vous aviez en vous éloignant des affaires, emporté l'estime et les regrets de l'Assemblée Nationale, elle l'a consigné dans ses arrêtés; et en exprimant ainsi les sentimens dont elle étoit pénétrée, elle n'a été que l'interprète de la Nation. "

" Le moment de votre retraite a été celui d'un deuil général dans le Royaume. "

" Le Roi, dont le cœur généreux et bon vous est connu plus qu'à qui que ce soit, est venu dans cette Assemblée s'unir à nous; il a daigné nous demander nos conseils; nos conseils

devoient être ceux de la Nation ; ils étoient de rappeller à lui le ministre qui l'avoit servi avec tant de dévouement, de fidélité et de patriotisme ; mais déjà le cœur du Roi avoit pris de lui même ce conseil salutaire, et quand nous pensions à lui exprimer nos vœux, il nous remettoit la lettre qui vous invitoit à reprendre vos travaux, il désiroit que l'Assemblée Nationale y joignit ses instances, et il vouloit, pour gage de son amour, se confondre encore avec la Nation pour rendre à la France celui qui en causoit les regrets et qui en faisoit l'espérance. Vous vous étiez en partant dérobé aux hommages du peuple ; vous aviez employé, pour éviter l'expression de son estime, les mêmes soins qu'un autre eût pris pour fuir les dangers de son mécontentement et de sa haine. Vous touchiez au moment où, après une longue et pénible agitation, vous alliez trouver le calme et le repos, vous avez connu les troubles qui agitoient ce royaume, vous avez connu les vœux ardens du Roi et de la Nation ; et sans vous aveugler sur l'incertitude des succès dans la carrière qui, de nouveau, s'ouvroit à vous, vous n'avez pensé qu'à nos malheurs ; vous vous êtes rappellé ce que vous deviez à la France pour l'attachement et la confiance qu'elle vous donne ; vous n'avez plus pensé à votre repos ; et d'après vos propres expressions, vous avez, sans hésiter, *préféré le péril aux remords.* "

" L'empressement des peuples qui se portoient

en foule sur votre route, la joie pure et sincère qu'a reçu le Roi de votre retour, les mouvemens que fait naître votre présence dans cette salle où votre éloge étoit, il y a quelques jours, prononcé avec tant d'éloquence, et entendu avec tant d'émotion, tout vous est garant des sentimens de la France entière. „

" La première Nation du monde voit en vous celui qui, ayant particulièrement contribué à la réunion de ses représentans, a le plus efficacement préparé son salut et peut seul dans ces momens d'embarras, faire disparoître les obstacles qui s'opposeroient encore à sa régénération. Quel homme avoit droit de prétendre à une si haute destinée ? Et quel titre plus puissant pouvoit assurer la France de votre dévouement le plus absolu ? "

" Peut-il donc être offert à la Nation un présage plus certain de bonheur, que la réunion des volontés d'un Roi prêt à tout sacrifier pour l'avantage de son peuple, d'une Assemblée Nationale qui fait à la félicité publique, le sacrifice des intérêts privés de tous les membres qui la composent et d'un ministre éclairé, qui, aux sentimens d'honneur qui lui rendent le bien nécessaire, joint encore la circonstance particulière d'une position qui le lui rend indispensable ?

" Et quelle époque plus heureuse, Monsieur, pour établir la responsabilité des ministres, cette précieuse sauve-garde de la liberté, ce rempart

certain contre le despostisme, que celle où le premier qui s'y soumettra, n'aura de compte à rendre à la Nation, que celui de ses talens et de ses vertus!"

"C'est d'après ce salutaire établissement, que vous avez sollicité vous-même, dont vous aurez été le premier exemple, que l'homme portant un cœur droit, des intentions pures, un caractère ferme, une conscience à l'abri de tout reproche, pourra, s'il est doué de quelque talent, aspirer ouvertement au ministère. Glorieux alors de l'idée qu'aucune action mauvaise, qu'aucune complaisance funeste, qu'aucune intrigue sourde ne pourront être dérobées au jugement de la Nation, il bravera les intentions obscures de la haine et de l'envie, et portera dans son cœur l'heureuse confiance que la vérité est toujours plus forte et plus convaincante que la calomnie, quand l'une et l'autre ne peuvent élever la voix que devant une Nation généreuse et éclairée."

"C'est en vous soumettant aujourd'hui, Mr., à cette honorable épreuve, c'est en reprenant la place que vous avez consenti d'accepter, que l'exercice de vos talens, que votre fidélité inviolable aux intérêts de la Nation et du Roi, indissolublement liés, désormais sauront prouver à l'Europe, sans l'étonner, combien étoient justes et les regrets publics et l'allégresse universelle dont il appartient à vous seul d'être l'objet."

"Si dans cette circonstance, il pouvoit m'être permis de laisser échapper l'expression d'un sen-

timent qui ne m'est que personnel, je dirois combien il m'est doux de lier l'époque glorieuse pour moi, d'une fonction honorable que je ne dois qu'à l'extrême indulgence de cette auguste Assemblée et que je ne puis justifier que par mon zèle à l'époque tant désirée de votre retour à un ministère que vous signalerez par votre attachement pour une constitution qui va bientôt assûrer le bonheur de l'Empire. "

[N°. 5.]

Discours prononcé par Mr. Necker à l'Hôtel-de-Ville de Paris, le 30 *Juillet* 1789.

" JE manque d'expressions, Messieurs, pour vous témoigner et en votre personne, à tous les citoyens de Paris, la reconnoissance dont je suis pénétré. Les marques d'intérêt et de bonté que j'ai reçues de leur part, sont un bienfait hors de toute proportion avec mes foibles services; et je ne puis m'acquitter que par un sentiment ineffaçable. Je vous promets, Messieurs, d'être fidèle à cette dernière obligation et jamais devoir ne sera plus doux ni plus facile à remplir. "

" Le Roi, Messieurs, à daigné me recevoir avec la plus grande bonté et m'assurer du retour de sa confiance la plus entière; mais aujourd'hui, Messieurs, c'est entre les bras de l'Assemblée

Nationale, c'est dans les vôtres que repose le salut de l'État; car en ce moment il ne reste presque plus aucune action au gouvernement. Vous donc, Messieurs, qui pouvez tant, et par la grandeur et par l'importance de la Ville dont vous êtes les notables citoyens, et par l'influence de votre exemple dans tout le Royaume, je viens vous conjurer de donner tous vos soins à l'établissement de l'ordre le plus parfait et le plus durable. Rien ne peut fleurir, rien ne peut prospérer sans cet ordre; et ce que vous avez déjà fait, Messieurs, en si peu de tems, annonce et devient un garant de ce que vous saurez achever; mais, jusqu'à ce dernier terme, la confiance sera incertaine, et une inquiétude générale troublera le bonheur public, éloignera de Paris un grand nombre de riches consommateurs et détournera les étrangers de venir y verser leurs richesses. Enfin Paris, cette cité, Paris cette première ville de l'Europe, ne reprendra son lustre et sa prospérité qu'à l'époque où l'on y verra régner cette paix et cette subordination qui calment les esprits et qui donnent à tous les hommes l'assurance de vivre tranquilles et sans défiance sous l'empire des lois et de leur conscience. "

" Vous jugerez, Messsieurs, dans votre sagesse, s'il n'est pas tems bientôt de faire cesser ces persécutions multipliées auxquelles on est soumis avant d'arriver à Paris, et que l'on commence à éprouver à une très-grande distance de

la Capitale. Il est juste de s'en rapporter à cet égard à votre prudence et à vos lumières ; mais les amis de la prospérité publique doivent désirer que les abords de Paris rappellent bientôt au commerce et à tous les voyageurs, que cette ville est, comme autrefois, le séjour de la paix et qu'on peut de tous les bouts du monde y venir jouir avec confiance et liberté du génie industriel de ses habitans, et du spectacle de tous les monumens que cette ville renferme dans son sein, et que de nouveaux talens augmentent chaque jour. "

" Mais, Messieurs, c'est au nom du plus grand intérêt que je dois vous entretenir un instant d'un sentiment qui remplit mon cœur et qui l'oppresse. Au nom de Dieu, Messieurs, plus de jugemens de proscription, plus de scènes sanglantes ! Généreux Français, qui êtes sur le point de réunir à tous les avantages dont vous jouissez depuis longtems, le bien inestimable d'une liberté sage, ne permettez pas que de si grands bienfaits puissent être mêlés à la possibilité d'un reproche. Ah que votre bonheur, pour devenir encore plus grand, soit pur et sans tache ! Sur-tout conservez, respectez même dans vos momens de crise et de calamité, ce caractère de bonté, de justice et de douceur qui distingue la Nation française, et faites arriver le plutôt possible le jour de l'indulgence et de l'oubli. "

" Croyez, Messieurs, en ne consultant que votre cœur, que la bonté est la première de tou-

tes les vertus. Hélas nous ne connoissons qu'imparfaitement cette action, cette force invisible qui dirige et détermine les actions des hommes! Dieu seul peut lire au fond des cœurs et juger avec sûreté, juger en un mot de ce qu'ils méritent de peine ou de récompense. Mais les hommes ne peuvent rendre un jugement, les hommes surtout ne peuvent ordonner la mort de celui à qui le ciel a donné la vie, sans l'examen le plus attentif et le plus régulier. "

" Je vous présente cette observation, cette demande, cette requête, au nom de tous les motifs capables d'agir sur les esprits et sur les âmes; et j'espère de votre bonté que vous me permettrez d'appliquer ces réflexions générales, ou plutôt l'expression de ces sentimens si vifs et si profonds, à une circonstance particulière et du moment. Je dois le faire d'autant plus que, si vous aviez une autre opinion que la mienne, j'aurois à m'excuser d'un tort auprès de vous, dont je dois vous rendre compte. "

" Mardi, jour de mon arrivée à Paris, j'appris à Nogent que M. le baron de Bezenval avoit été arrêté à Villenaux, et cette nouvelle me fut confirmée par un gentilhomme, seigneur du lieu, qui, sans connoître particulièrement M. de Bezenval, mais animé par un sentiment de bonté fit arrêter ma voiture pour me témoigner son inquiétude, et me demander si je ne pourrois pas être en se-

cours à M. le baron de Bezenval qui étoit parti pour la Suisse avec la permission du Roi. "

" J'avois appris la veille les malheureux évènemens de Paris et le sort infortuné de deux magistrats accusés et executés rapidement. Mon ame s'émut et je n'hésitai point à écrire de mon carrosse ces mots-ci à Messieurs les officiers municipaux de Villenaux : "

" Je sais positivement, Messieurs, que Mr. de Bezenval, arrêté par la milice de Villenaux, a eu permission du Roi de se rendre en Suisse dans sa patrie. Je vous demande instamment, Messieurs, de respecter cette permission dont je suis garant, et je vous en aurai une particulière obligation. Tous les motifs qui affectent une ame sensible m'intéressent à cette demande. Mr. De * * * veut bien se charger de ce billet que je vous écris dans ma voiture sur le grand chemin de Nogent à Versailles. "

J'ai l'honneur d'être &c.

Ce Mardi 28 Juillet 1789.

" J'ai appris, Messieurs, que ma demande n'a point été accueillie par Messieurs les officiers municipaux de Villenaux, parce qu'ils vous avoient écrit pour recevoir vos ordres. Éloigné de Paris pendant les malheureux évènemens qui ont excité vos plaintes, je n'ai aucune connoissance particulière des torts qui peuvent être re-

prochés à Mr. de Bezenval ; je n'ai jamais eu de relation de société avec lui ; mais la justice m'ordonne de lui rendre dans une affaire importante, un témoignage favorable. Il étoit commandant pour le Roi dans la généralité de Paris, où depuis deux à trois mois, il a fallu continuellement assurer la tranquillité des marchés, protéger des convois de grains ; il étoit donc nécessaire d'avoir continuellement recours au commandant détenu maintenant à Villenaux ; et quoique dans l'ordre ministériel, j'aurois dû m'adresser au secrétaire d'état de la guerre, qui auroit transmis les demandes du ministre des finances au commandant des troupes, Mr. de Bezenval m'écrivit fort honnêtement, que cette marche indirecte pourroit occasionner de la lenteur dans le service public, il m'invitoit à lui donner des instructions directes, et qu'il les exécuteroit ponctuellement. J'adoptai cette proposition, et je ne peux rendre trop de justice au zèle et à l'activité avec lesquels Mr. de Bezenval a répondu à mes désirs. J'ai remarqué constamment qu'il réunissoit de la modération et de la prudence à l'activité militaire, ensorte que j'ai souvent eu occasion de le remercier de ses soins et de son attention soutenue. Voilà, Messieurs, ce qui m'est connu de ce général en ma qualité d'homme public. "

" Je dois vous dire ensuite de la part du Roi, que Sa Majesté honore depuis long-tems cet offi-

cier de ses bontés. Je ne sais de quoi il peut être accusé auprès de vous; mais, soumis aux loix de la discipline militaire, il faudroit peut-être des titres d'accusation bien formels pour l'empêcher de retourner dans sa patrie; et comme étranger, comme membre distingué d'un pays avec lequel la France a depuis si long-tems des relations d'alliance et d'amitié, vous aurez surement pour Mr. de Bezenval tous les égards qu'on peut espérer d'une Nation hospitalière et généreuse. Et puisque ce seroit déjà une grande punition que d'amener à Paris comme criminel ou suspect, un officier général étranger, qui retourne dans son pays avec la permission du Roi, j'ose vous prier de considérer, si vous ne pourriez pas vous borner à lui demander à Villenaux les éclaircissemens dont vous pourriez avoir besoin et la communication de ses papiers, s'il en avoit. C'est à vous, Messieurs, à considérer si vous devez exposer ce général étranger aux effets d'aucun mouvement dont vous ne pourriez pas répondre. Car distingués, comme vous êtes, Messieurs, par le choix de vos concitoyens, vous voulez sûrement être avant tous les défenseurs des loix et de la justice; vous ne voulez pas qu'aucun citoyen soit condamné, soit puni, sans avoir eu le tems de se faire entendre, sans avoir eu le tems d'être examiné par des juges intègres et impartiaux; c'est le premier droit de l'homme; c'est le plus saint devoir des puissans, c'est l'obligation la plus constamment

respectée par les Nations. Ah! Messieurs, non pas devant vous qui, distingués par une éducation généreuse, n'avez besoin que de suivre les lumières de votre esprit et de votre cœur; mais devant le plus inconnu, le plus obscur des citoyens de Paris, je me prosterne, je me jette à genoux pour demander que l'on n'exerce ni envers Mr. de Bezenval, ni envers personne, aucune rigueur semblable en aucune manière à celles qu'on m'a récitées. La justice doit être éclairée et un sentiment de bonté doit encore être sans cesse autour d'elle. Ces principes, ces mouvemens dominent tellement mon ame, que si j'étois témoin d'aucun acte contraire dans un moment où je serois rapproché par ma place, des choses publiques, j'en mourrois de douleur, et toutes mes forces au moins seroient épuisées. "

" J'ose donc m'appuyer auprès de vous, Messieurs, de la bienveillance, dont vous m'honorez. Vous avez daigné mettre quelqu'intérêt à mes services, et dans un moment où je vais en demander un haut prix, je me permettrai pour la première, pour la seule fois de dire qu'en effet mon zèle n'a pas été inutile à la France. Ce haut prix que je vous demande, ce sont des égards pour un général étranger, s'il ne lui faut que cela; c'est de l'indulgence et de la bonté, s'il a besoin de plus. Je serai heureux par cette insigne faveur, en ne fixant mon attention que sur Mr. de Bezenval, sur un simple particulier; je le serois bien

davantage si cet exemple devenoit le signal d'une amnistie qui rendroit le calme à la France, et qui permetteroit à tous les citoyens, à tous les habitans de ce Royaume de fixer uniquement leur attention sur l'avenir, afin de jouir de tous les biens que peuvent nous promettre l'union du peuple et du souverain et l'accord de toutes les forces propres à fonder le bonheur sur la liberté, et la durée de cette liberté sur le bonheur général. Ah ! Messieurs, que tous les citoyens, que tous les habitans de la France rentrent pour toujours sous la garde des loix. Cédez, je vous en supplie, à mes vives instances, et que par votre bienfait ce jour devienne le plus heureux de ma vie, et l'un des plus glorieux qui puisse vous être réservé. "

[N° 6.]

Première Lettre trouvée dans les papiers de Mr. d'Estaing, écrite de sa main.

Lundi 14 Septembre 1789.

Mon devoir et ma fidélité l'exigent, il faut que je mette aux pieds de la Reine, *ce que j'ai vu* dans mon voyage de Paris, *On m'a dit* dans la société et dans la bonne compagnie, qu'on prend des signatures de la Noblesse et du Clergé ; les uns disent que c'est à la connoissance du Roi,

d'autres disent que c'est à son insçu. On dit que le Roi ira par la Champagne ou à Verdun ; Mr. *de Bouillé* est désigné, Mr. *de la Fayette* me l'a dit ; il est froidement positif Mr. *de la Fayette*. . . . . On nomma Mr. le maréchal de *Broglie* commandant le tout ; Mr. *de Breteuil* conduit le projet, Mr. *de Mercy agit de concert*. Ces propos, s'ils se répandoient dans le peuple, seroient incalculables. Je suis allé chez Mr. l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, et c'est là, je ne le cache pas à la Reine, que mon effroi a redoublé. Mr. *de Fernand-Nunès* en a parlé avec moi, je lui ai parlé de ce bruit et de ce plan qui occasionneroient la plus déshonorante guerre civile. Après avoir parlé de la cour errante, de la banqueroute indispensable, Mr. l'Ambassadeur a baissé les yeux ; il est convenu que quelqu'un de considérable ou de croyable avoit reçu des signatures. Ce fait m'inspire un genre de terreur que je n'ai jamais connu; la première démarche coûte assez cher, ce seroit des flots de sang : la Reine peut conquérir au Roi son royaume, la nature lui en a prodigué les moyens. . . . . Je supplie la Reine de m'accorder une audience.

[N°. 6.] (*bis.*)

Autre Lettre de Mr. d'Estaing.

Il m'est impossible de ne pas mettre aux pieds de la Reine mon admiration ; il faut qu'elle croie

uniquement ses véritables serviteurs ; sa fermeté triomphera tout. . . . . *L'ondulation des idées a failli tout perdre.* . . . . . Les anciens Ministres du Roi n'ont peut-être mérité la haine que par l'instabilité des principes. Ils n'ont *pu empêcher ce malheureux dîner.* La santé à la Nation *a été omise à dessein* ; portée par des personnes augustes, elle auroit tout arrangé. . . . . Le hasard, car il est plus consolant d'y croire, a fait partir deux coups de pistolets, *partis de trop bas pour venir de gens à cheval.* J'ai voulu retenir la Garde Nationale de Versailles. *J'ai en vain retenu, ou relevé les coups.* . . . . . Il faut un autre enthousiasme ; La Reine seule a le pouvoir de le faire naître ; la voilà sur un grand théâtre, avec quelques soins elle sera adorée. . . . . Ah ! Madame, soyez notre première citoyenne, vous serez tout, si vos principes vous permettent de le vouloir. *Le Clergé et la Noblesse n'ont que le Roi pour les sauver.* . . . . . Mr. *de la Fayette* m'a juré que les évènemens *en avoient fait* un Royaliste. Tout Français doit l'être *jusqu'à un certain point.*

[N°. 7.]

L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE

AUX FRANÇAIS.*

11 *Février* 1790.

L'Assemblée Nationale s'avançant dans la carrière de ses travaux, reçoit de toutes parts les fé-

* Adresse rédigée par l'Évêque d'Autun.

licitations des provinces, des villes, des communautés, les témoignages de la joie publique, les acclamations de la reconnoissance ; mais elle entend aussi les murmures, les clameurs de ceux que blessent ou qu'affligent les coups portés à tant d'abus, à tant d'intérêts, à tant de préjugés. En s'occupant du bonheur de tous, elle s'inquiète des maux particuliers ; elle pardonne à la prévention, à l'aigreur, à l'injustice ; mais elle regarde comme un de ses devoirs de vous prémunir contre les influences de la calomnie, et de détruire les vaines terreurs dont on chercheroit à vous surprendre. Eh ! que n'a-t-on pas tenté pour vous égarer, pour ébranler votre confiance ? On a feint d'ignorer quel bien avoit fait l'Assemblée nationale : nous allons vous le rappeller. On a élevé des difficultés contre ce qu'elle a fait : nous allons y répondre. On a répandu des doutes, on a fait naître des inquiétudes sur ce quelle fera : nous allons vous l'apprendre.

Qu'a fait l'Assemblée ?

Elle a tracé d'une main ferme, au milieu des orages, les principes de la constitution qui assure à jamais votre liberté.

Les droits des hommes étoient méconnus, insultés depuis des siècles ; ils ont été rétablis pour l'humanité entière, dans cette déclaration qui sera à jamais le cri de ralliement contre les oppresseurs et la loi des législateurs eux-mêmes.

La Nation avoit perdu le droit de décréter et

les loix et les impôts: ce droit lui a été restitué, et en même tems ont été consacrés les vrais principes de la monarchie, l'inviolabilité du chef auguste de la Nation, et l'hérédité du trône dans une famille si chère à tous les Français.

Nous n'avions que des états généraux: vous avez maintenant une Assemblée nationale, et elle ne peut plus vous être ravie.

Des ordres, nécessairement divisés et asservis à d'antiques prétentions, y dictoient les décrets, et pouvoient y arrêter l'essor de la volonté nationale. Ces ordres n'existent plus: tout a disparu devant l'honorable qualité de citoyen.

Tout étant devenu citoyen, il vous falloit des défenseurs citoyens; et au premier signal on a vu cette garde nationale qui, rassemblée par le patriotisme, commandée par l'honneur, par-tout maintient ou ramène l'ordre, et veille, avec un zèle infatigable, à la sûreté de chacun pour l'intérêt de tous.

Des privilèges sans nombre, ennemis irréconciliables de tout bien, composoient tout notre droit public: ils sont détruits; et à la voix de votre Assemblée, les provinces les plus jalouses des leurs, ont applaudi à leur chûte; elles ont senti qu'elles s'enrichissoient de leur perte.

Une féodalité vexatoire, si puissante encore dans ses derniers débris, couvroit la France entière: elle a disparu sans retour.

Vous étiez soumis, dans les provinces, au ré-

gime d'une administration inquiétante : vous en êtes affranchis.

Des ordres arbitraires attentoient à la liberté des citoyens : ils sont anéantis.

Vous vouliez une organisation complète des municipalités : elle vient de vous être donnée ; et la création de tous ces corps, formés par vos suffrages, présente en ce moment, dans toute la France, le spectacle le plus imposant.

En meme tems l'Assemblée nationale a consommé l'ouvrage de la nouvelle division du royaume, qui seule pouvoit effacer jusqu'aux dernières traces des anciens préjugés ; substituer à l'amour-propre de province l'amour véritable de la patrie ; asseoir les bases d'une bonne représentation, et fixer à la fois les droits de chaque homme et de chaque canton, en raison de leurs rapports avec la chose publique : problème difficile, dont la solution étoit restée inconnue jusqu'à nos jours.

Dès long-tems vous désiriez l'abolition de la vénalité des charges de magistrature : elle a été prononcée. — Vous éprouviez le besoin d'une réforme, du moins provisoire, des principaux vices du code criminel : elle a été décrétée, en attendant une réforme générale. — De toutes les parties du royaume nous ont été adressées des plaintes, des demandes, des réclamations : nous y avons satisfait autant qu'il étoit en notre pouvoir. — La multitude des engagemens publics effrayait : nous avons consacré les principes sur la foi qui leur est

due. — Vous redoutiez le pouvoir des ministres: nous leur avons imposé la loi rassurante de la responsabilité.

L'impôt de la gabelle vous étoit odieux; nous l'avons adouci d'abord, et nous vous en avons promis l'entière destruction; car il ne nous suffit pas que les impôts soient indispensables pour les besoins publics, il faut encore qu'ils soient justifiés par leur égalité, leur sagesse, leur douceur.

Des pensions immodérées, prodiguées, souvent à l'insçu de votre Roi, vous ravissoient le fruit de vos labeurs : nous avons jeté sur elles un premier regard sévère, et nous allons les renfermer dans les limites étroites d'une stricte justice.

Enfin, les finances demandoient d'immenses réformes: secondés par le ministre qui a obtenu votre confiance, nous y avons travaillé sans relâche, et bientôt vous allez en jouir.

Voilà notre ouvrage, Français, ou plutôt voilà le vôtre; car nous ne sommes que vos organes, et c'est vous qui nous avez éclairés, encouragés, soutenus dans nos travaux. Quelle époque que celle à laquelle nous sommes enfin parvenus! Quel honorable héritage vous allez transmettre à votre postérité! Élevés au rang de citoyens, admissibles à tous les emplois, censeurs éclairés de l'administration, quand vous n'en serez pas les dépositaires, sûrs que tout se fait et par vous et pour vous, égaux devant la loi, libres d'agir, de parler, d'écrire, ne devant jamais compte aux

hommes, toujours à la volonté commune, quelle plus belle condition! Pourroit-il être encore un seul citoyen vraiment digne de ce nom, qui osât tourner ses regards en arrière, qui voulût relever les débris dont nous sommes environnés, pour en récomposer l'ancien édifice!

Et pourtant, que n'a-t-on pas dit? Que n'a-t-on pas fait pour affoiblir en vous l'impression naturelle que tant de biens devoient produire?

Nous avons tout détruit, a-t-on dit: c'est qu'il falloit tout reconstruire. Et qu'y a-t-il donc tant à regretter? Veut-on le savoir? Que sur tous les objets réformés ou détruits, l'on interroge des hommes qui n'en profitoient pas; qu'on interroge même la bonne foi des hommes qui en profitoient; qu'on écarte ceux-là qui, pour ennoblir les afflictions de l'intérêt personnel, prennent aujourd'hui pour objet de leur commisération, le sort de ceux qui, dans d'autres tems, leur furent si indifférens; et l'on verra si la réforme de chacun de ces objets ne réunit pas tous les suffrages, faits pour être comptés.

Nous avons agi avec trop de précipitation... et tant d'autres nous ont reproché d'agir avec trop de lenteur! Trop de précipitation! Ignore-t-on que c'est en attaquant, en renversant tous les abus à la fois, qu'on peut espérer de s'en voir délivré sans retour; qu'alors, et alors seulement, chacun, se trouve intéressé à l'établissement de l'ordre, que les réformes lentes et particlles ont toujours

fini par ne rien réformer; enfin, que l'abus que l'on conserve devient l'appui, et bientôt le restaurateur de tous ceux qu'on croyoit avoir détruits?

Nos assemblées sont tumultueuses... Et qu'importe, si les décrets qui en émanent sont sages? Nous sommes, au reste, loin de vouloir présenter à votre admiration les détails de tous nos débats. Plus d'une fois nous en avons été affligés nous-mêmes; mais nous avons senti en même tems qu'il étoit trop injuste de chercher à s'en prévaloir, et qu'après tout, cette impétuosité étoit l'effet presqu'inévitable du premier combat qui se soit peut-être jamais livré entre tous les principes et toutes les erreurs.

On nous accuse d'avoir aspiré à une perfection chimérique.... Reproche bizarre, qui n'est, on le voit bien, qu'un vœu mal déguisé pour la perpétuité des abus. L'Assemblée Nationale ne s'est point arrêtée à ces motifs, servilement intéressés ou pusillanimes: elle a eu le courage, ou plutôt, la raison de croire que les idées utiles, nécessaires au genre humain, n'étoient pas exclusivement destinées à orner les pages d'un livre, et que l'Être suprême, en donnant à l'homme la perfectibilité, apanage particulier de sa nature, ne lui avoit pas défendu de l'appliquer à l'ordre social, devenu le plus universel de ses intérêts, et presque le premier de ses besoins.

Il est impossible, a-t-on dit, de régénérer une

nation vieille et corrompue... Que l'on apprenne qu'il n'y a de corrompu que ceux qui veulent perpétuer des abus corrupteurs, et qu'une nation se rajeunit, le jour où elle a résolu de renaître à la liberté. Voyez la génération nouvelle. Comme déjà son cœur palpite de joie et d'espérance! Comme ses sentimens sont purs, nobles, patriotiques! Avec quel enthousiasme on la voit chaque jour briguer l'honneur d'être admise à prêter le serment de citoyen!... Mais pourquoi répondre à un aussi misérable reproche? L'Assemblée Nationale seroit-elle donc réduite à s'excuser de n'avoir pas désespéré du peuple français?

On n'a encore rien fait pour le peuple, a-t-on osé dire.... Et c'est sa cause qui triomphe partout. Rien fait pour le peuple! Et chaque abus que l'on a détruit ne lui prépare-t-il pas, ne lui assure-t-il pas un soulagement? Étoit-il un seul abus qui ne pesât sur le peuple?

Il ne se plaignoit pas.... C'est que l'excès de ses maux étouffoit ses plaintes.... Maintenant il est malheureux.... Dites plutôt: il est encore malheureux;.. Mais il ne le sera pas long-tems: nous en faisons le serment.

Nous avons détruit le Pouvoir Exécutif... Non: dites le Pouvoir Ministériel; et c'est lui qui détruisoit, qui souvent dégradoit le Pouvoir Exécutif. Le Pouvoir Exécutif! Nous l'avons éclairé en lui montrant ses véritables droits; sur-tout nous

l'avons

l'avons ennobli en le faisant remonter à la véritable source de sa puissance, la puissance du peuple.

Il est maintenant sans force.... Contre la constitution et la loi: cela est vrai, mais en leur faveur il sera plus puissant qu'il ne le fut jamais.

Le peuple s'est armé..... Oui, pour sa défense: il en avoit besoin. — Mais, dans plusieurs endroits, il en est résulté des malheurs. Peut-on les reprocher à l'Assemblée Nationale? Peut-on lui imputer des désastres dont elle gémit, qu'elle a voulu prévenir, arrêter par toute la force de ses décrets, et que va faire cesser sans doute l'union désormais indissoluble entre les deux pouvoirs, et l'action irrésistible de toutes les forces nationales?

Nous avons passé nos pouvoirs: la réponse est simple. Nous étions incontestablement envoyés pour faire une constitution: c'étoit le vœu, c'étoit le besoin de la France entière. Or étoit-il possible de la créer, cette constitution, de former un ensemble, même imparfait, de décrets constitutionels, sans la plénitude des pouvoirs que nous avons exercés? Disons plus: sans l'Assemblée Nationale, la France étoit perdue; sans le principe qui soumet tout à la pluralité des suffrages libres, et qui a fait tous nos décrets, il est impossible de concevoir une Assemblée Nationale; il est impossible de concevoir, nous ne disons pas une constitution, mais même l'espoir de détruire irrévocablement le moindre des abus. Ce principe est

d'éternelle vérité: il a été reconnu dans toute la France; il s'est reproduit de mille manières dans ces nombreuses adresses d'adhésion, qui rencontroient sur toutes les routes cette foule de libelles, où l'on nous reproche d'avoir excédé nos pouvoirs. Ces adresses, ces félicitations, ces hommages, ces sermens patriotiques: quelle confirmation des pouvoirs que l'on vouloit nous contester!

Tels sont, Français, les reproches que l'on fait à vos représentans dans cette foule d'écrits coupables, où l'on affecte le ton d'une douleur citoyenne. Ah! vainement on s'y flatte de nous décourager: notre courage redouble; vous ne tarderez pas à en ressentir les effets.

L'Assemblée va vous donner une constitution militaire qui, composant l'armée de soldats citoyens, réunira la valeur qui défend la patrie, et les vertus civiques qui la protègent sans l'effrayer.

Bientôt elle vous présentera un système d'impositions qui ménagera l'agriculture et l'industrie, qui respectera enfin la liberté du commerce; un système qui, simple, clair, aisément conçu de tous ceux qui paient, déterminera la part qu'ils doivent, rendra facile la connoissance si nécessaire de l'emploi des revenus publics, et mettra sous les yeux de tous les Français le véritable état des Finances, jusqu'à présent labyrinthe obscur, où l'œil n'a pu suivre la trace des trésors de l'État.

Bientôt un Clergé citoyen, soustrait à la pau-

vreté comme à la richesse, modèle à la fois du riche et du pauvre, pardonnant les expressions injurieuses d'un délire passager, inspirera une confiance vraie, pure, universelle, que n'altérera ni l'envie qui outrage, ni cette sorte de pitié qui humilie, il fera chérir encore davantage la Religion, il en accroîtra l'heureuse influence par des rapports plus doux et plus intimes entre les peuples et les pasteurs; et il n'offrira plus le spectacle, que le patriotisme du Clergé lui-même a plus d'une fois dénoncé dans cette Assemblée, de l'oisiveté opulente, et de l'activité sans récompense.

Bientôt un système de loix criminelles et pénales, dictées par la raison, la justice, l'humanité, montrera, jusques dans la personne des victimes de la loi, le respect dû à la qualité d'homme, respect sans lequel on n'a pas le droit de parler de morale.

Un code des loix civiles, confié à des juges désignés par votre suffrage, et rendant gratuitement la justice, fera disparoître toutes ces loix obscures, compliquées, contradictoires dont l'incohérence et la multitude sembloient laisser, même à un juge intègre, le droit d'appeller justice sa volonté, son erreur, quelquefois son ignorance; mais jusqu'à ce moment vous obéirez religieusement à ces mêmes loix, parce que vous savez que le respect pour toute loi, non encore révoquée, est la marque distinctive du vrai citoyen.

Enfin, nous terminerons nos travaux par un

code d'instruction et d'éducation nationale, qui mettra la constitution sous la sauve-garde des générations naissantes; et faisant passer l'instruction civique par tous les degrés de la représentation, nous transmettrons, dans toutes les classes de la société, les connoissances nécessaires au bonheur de chacune de ces classes, en même tems qu'à celui de la société entière.

Voyez, Français, la perspective de bonheur et de gloire qui s'ouvre devant vous! Il reste encore quelques pas à faire, et c'est où vous attendent les détracteurs de la révolution. Défiez-vous d'une impétueuse vivacité; redoutez sur-tout les violences, car tout désordre peut devenir funeste à la liberté. Vous chérissez cette liberté, vous la possédez maintenant: montrez-vous dignes de la conserver; soyez fidèles à l'esprit, à la lettre des décrets de vos Représentans, acceptés ou sanctionnés par le Roi; distinguez soigneusement les droits abolis sans rachat, et les droits rachetables, mais encore existans. Que les premiers ne soient plus exigés, mais que les seconds ne soient point refusés. Songez aux trois mots sacrés qui garantissent ces décrets: *La Nation, la Loi, le Roi.* La Nation, c'est vous; la Loi, c'est encore vous, c'est votre volonté; le Roi, c'est le gardien de la Loi. Quels que soient les mensonges qu'on prodigue, comptez sur cette union. C'est le Roi qu'on trompoit: c'est vous qu'on trompe maintenant, et la bonté du Roi

s'en afflige; il veut préserver son peuple des flatteurs qu'il a éloignés du trône; il en défendra le berceau de son fils; car au milieu de vos Représentans, il a déclaré qu'il faisoit de l'héritier de la Couronne le gardien de la constitution.

Qu'on ne vous parle plus de deux partis. Il n'en est qu'un; nous l'avons tous juré; c'est celui de la liberté; la victoire est sûre, attestée par les conquêtes qui se multiplient tous les jours. Laissez d'obscurs blasphémateurs prodiguer contre nous les injures, les calomnies; pensez seulement que, s'ils nous louoient, la France seroit perdue. Gardez-vous sur-tout de réveiller leurs espérances par des fautes, par des désordres, par l'oubli de la loi. Voyez comme ils triomphent de quelque délais dans la perception de l'impôt. Ah! ne leur préparez pas une joie cruelle! Songez que cette dette.... Non ce n'est plus une dette: c'est un tribut sacré, et c'est la patrie maintenant qui le reçoit pour vous, pour vos enfans; elle ne le laissera plus prodiguer aux déprédateurs qui voudroient voir tarir pour l'État le trésor public, maintenant tari pour eux: ils aspiroient à des malheurs qu'a prévenus, qu'a rendus impossibles la bonté magnanime du Roi. Français, secondez votre Roi, par un saint et immuable respect pour la loi, défendez contre eux son bonheur, ses vertus, sa véritable gloire; montrez qu'il n'eut jamais d'autres ennemis que ceux de la liberté; montrez que pour elle et pour lui votre constance

égalera votre courage; que pour la liberté dont il est le garant, on ne se lasse point, on est infatigable. Votre lassitude étoit le dernier espoir des ennemis de la révolution; ils le perdent: pardonnez-leur d'en gémir; et déplorez sans les haïr, ce reste de foiblesse, toutes ces misères de l'humanité. Cherchons, disons même ce qui les excuse. Voyez quel concours de causes a dû prolonger, entretenir, presque éterniser leur illusion. Eh! Ne faut-il pas quelque tems pour chasser de sa mémoire les fantômes d'un long rêve, les rêves d'une longue vie? Qui peut triompher en un moment des habitudes de l'esprit, des opinions inculquées dans l'enfance, entretenues par les formes extérieures de la société, long-tems favorisées par la servitude publique qu'on croyoit éternelle, chères à un genre d'orgueil qu'on imposoit comme un devoir, enfin mises sous la protection de l'intérêt personnel qu'elles flattoient de tant de manières. Perdre à-la-fois ses illusions, ses espérances, ses idées les plus chéries, une partie de sa fortune: est-il donné à beaucoup d'hommes de le pouvoir sans quelques regrets, sans des efforts, sans des résistances d'abord naturelles, et qu'ensuite un faux point d'honneur s'impose quelquefois à lui-même? Eh! si dans cette classe nagueres si favorisée, il s'en trouve quelques-uns qui ne peuvent se faire à tant de pertes à-la-fois, soyez généreux; songez que, dans cette même classe, il s'est trouvé des hommes qui ont osé

s'élever à la dignité de citoyens, intrépides défenseurs de vos droits, et dans le sein même de leur famille, opposant à leurs sentimens les plus tendres, le noble enthousiasme de la liberté.

Plaignez, Français, les victimes aveugles de tant de déplorables préjugés; mais, sous l'empire des loix, que le mot de vengeance ne soit plus prononcé. Courage, persévérance, générosité, les vertus de la liberté, nous vous les demandons au nom de cette liberté sacrée, seule conquête digne de l'homme, digne de vous; par les efforts, par les sacrifices que vous avez faits pour elle, par les vertus qui se sont mêlées aux malheurs inséparables d'une grande révolution, ne retardez point, ne déshonorez point le plus bel ouvrage, dont les annales du monde nous aient transmis la mémoire. Qu'avez-vous à craindre? Rien, non rien, qu'une funeste impatience: encore quelques momens..... C'est pour la liberté! Vous avez donné tant de siècles au despotisme! Amis, citoyens, une patience généreuse, au lieu d'une patience servile. Au nom de la patrie, vous en avez une maintenant; au nom de votre Roi, vous avez un Roi: il est à vous, non plus le Roi de quelques milliers d'hommes, mais le Roi des Français..... de tous les Français. Qu'il doit mépriser maintenant le despotisme! Qu'il doit le haïr! *Roi d'un peuple libre,* comme il doit reconnoître l'erreur de ces illusions mensongères qu'entretenoit sa cour qui se disoit son

peuple ! Prestiges répandus autour de son berceau, enfermés comme à dessein dans l'éducation royale, et dont on a cherché, dans tous les tems, à composer l'entendement des Rois pour faire, des erreurs de leurs pensées, le patrimoine des Cours. Il est à vous : qu'il nous est cher ! Ah ! depuis que son peuple est devenu sa Cour, lui refuserez-vous la tranquillité, le bonheur qu'il mérite ? Désormais, qu'il n'apprenne plus aucunes de ces scènes violentes, qui ont tant affligé son cœur ; qu'il apprenne, au contraire, que l'ordre renaît, que par-tout les propriétés sont respectées, défendues ; que vous recevez, que vous placez sous l'égide des loix, l'innocent le coupable..... De coupable ! il n'en est point, si la loi ne l'a prononcé. Ou plutôt, qu'il apprenne encore, votre vertueux Monarque, quelques-uns de ces traits généreux, de ces nobles exemples qui déjà ont illustré le berceau de la liberté française..... Étonnez-le de vos vertus, pour lui donner plutôt le prix des siennes, en avançant pour lui le moment de la tranquillité publique, et le spectacle de votre félicité.

Pour nous, poursuivant notre tâche laborieuse, voués, consacrés au grand travail de la constitution, votre ouvrage autant que le nôtre, nous le terminerons, aidés de toutes les lumières de la France ; et vainqueurs de tous les obstacles, satisfaits de notre conscience, convaincus, et d'avance heureux de votre prochain bonheur, nous place-

rons en vos mains ce dépôt sacré de la constitution, sous la garde des vertus nouvelles, dont le germe, enfermé dans vos ames, vient d'éclore aux premiers jours de la liberté.

Signés, BUREAU DE PUZY, *Président*; LABORDE DE MEREVILLE, l'abbé EXPILLY, le vicomte DE NOAILLES, GUILLOTIN, le baron DE MARGUERITES, le marquis DE LA COSTE, *Secrétaire.*

[N°. 8.]

Letttre de Mr. de Calonne au Roi, trouvée dans l'armoire de fer.

SIRE,

Ce que j'ai à communiquer à Votre Majesté étant pour elle et pour ses peuples de la plus haute importance, rien ne peut arrêter mon zèle. Dois-je commencer par vous supplier, Sire, de ne voir que la chose sans songer à la personne? Et faut-il qu'un serviteur dont la fidélité ne s'est jamais démentie, ait à craindre que son nom ne nuise à ses paroles? Un jour Votre Majesté me rendra justice: oui, Sire, vous me la rendrez. Mais ce n'est pas en ce moment ce dont il est question: pourrois-je m'occuper de moi-même quand mon Roi est captif, et que ma patrie périt!

Je suis informé, Sire, que ceux qui s'acharnent à vous tromper s'efforcent de vous persuader que l'Angleterre influe dans les troubles qui boulever-

sent votre Royaume; que c'est de l'Angleterre qu'est venu l'argent employé à corrompre vos troupes, et à susciter des insurrections; enfin que cette Nation rivale, pour se venger de la perte de l'Amérique, s'occupe des moyens d'accroître nos désordres, et fomente sous-main ce qui tend à l'entière destruction de la Monarchie française.

Il n'est rien, Sire, de plus contraire à la vérité, de plus opposé aux sentimens du Roi d'Angleterre, de plus éloigné des vues de ses ministres, et de plus incompatible avec la Constitution britannique, qui ne permet aucun emploi clandestin de sommes considérables. Si le ministre peut, en certains cas extraordinaires, suspendre momentanément l'explication d'un article de son compte, en le déclarant destiné à des objets politiques de nature à être tenus secrets, on sait du moins alors l'existence d'un tel article, son montant, et la réserve d'en dévoiler par la suite les causes, sont connus. Or il est constant que ni l'année dernière, ni cette année, il n'y a eu aucun article de ce genre, aucune réserve politique semblable, et je suis autorisé à dire qu'il n'y en aura aucune. C'est donc une chimère détruite par les règles mêmes du Gouvernement anglais, que de supposer qu'il ait envoyé de l'argent en France pour y alimenter la fermentation. Je pourrois ajouter qu'il ne faut que considérer l'état du change, pour reconnoître combien une telle supposition choque toutes les vraisemblances.

Mais comme les meilleures raisonnemens ne suffisent pas quand ceux qui, par leur état ou par leur mission, sont chargés de faire connoître la vérité, osent attester le contraire ; et comme l'erreur dans laquelle ils ont intérêt d'entretenir votre Majesté, pourroit l'entraîner dans des vues qui deviendroient funestes, ou la détourner de celles qui peuvent devenir salutaires, il m'a paru essentiel de vous convaincre, Sire, par des preuves palpables de l'absolue fausseté des perfides insinuations dans lesquelles peut-être se mêle encore le désir de me noircir de plus en plus à vos yeux.

C'est ce qui m'a engagé à en parler à M. Pitt, de manière cependant à ne pas attribuer à Votre Majesté elle-même des sentimens qui pussent paroître injurieux à ceux dont le Roi d'Angleterre fait profession. La pièce *cotée* 1, fait voir comment je me suis exprimé dans la note que M. Pitt m'a prié de lui laisser, et qu'il a mise sous les yeux du Roi d'Angleterre. J'étois bien sûr que sa Majesté britannique qui, plus d'une fois, m'avoit témoigné le vif intérêt qu'elle prenoit à la position de votre Majesté, s'empresseroit de détruire les doutes qu'on veut vous inspirer sur ses dispositions. Mon attente n'a pas été trompée ; Georges III à chargé M. Pitt non-seulement de réitérer de sa part les assurances déjà données à ceux qui semblent ne les avoir pas transmises fort exactement, mais même de m'écrire à ce sujet une lettre conçue dans les termes les plus précis,

et dont je pusse faire usage pour détromper Votre Majesté.

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer, Sire, sous la cote 2, une copie certifiée de cette lettre de M. Pitt, en date du 6 de ce mois, à laquelle j'ai surabondamment accolé une traduction littérale, quoique je sache que votre Majesté peut entendre le texte anglois. Elle y verra ce qu'elle doit attendre d'un Monarque pénétré de cette vérité, que votre cause est la cause de tous les Souverains, et qui est profondément indigné des traitemens qu'on vous a fait. Comptez, Sire, avec confiance, sur la loyauté et l'élévation de ses sentimens; ils sont tels, je suis fondé à le dire, et c'est ce que signifie la fin de la lettre de M. Pitt, que tout ce qui tendroit à rétablir votre trône, votre gloire, votre bonheur inséparable de celui de vos peuples, est dans son vœu, dans sa volonté la plus sincère, et qu'il seroit charmé de pouvoir y contribuer. Vous avez présentement sous les yeux la preuve qu'on ne sauroit imputer d'autres sentimens à son principal ministre, et je puis assurer que ce que l'on peut appeler *la Nation anglaise*, sans distinction d'aucun parti, est aussi loin de désirer l'accroissement de nos désordres et d'en profiter bassement, qu'elle l'est d'approuver les excès de la Révolution ou d'être tentée de les irriter; c'est une notoriété que personne ne peut contester, et à laquelle on opposeroit vainement la démarche ridiculisée ici, d'un club de particuliers fort peu considéré.

Si jamais, Sire, on a voulu vous faire entendre que je serois capable de préférer, en aucun cas, en aucun tems les intérêts de l'Angleterre à ceux de ma patrie et à la fidélité inébranlable que je vous ai jurée, on a dit une grande infamie, et j'ai à y opposer toute la bonne compagnie anglaise qui me connoît, qui m'a entendu, et dont le témoignage mérite plus de foi que des rapports envenimés : mais, si l'on dit que je suis charmé de la sagesse, de la raison, et de la noble façon de penser que je vois, et que ce moment-ci sur-tout m'a fait remarquer dans une Nation vraiment généreuse, pour qui d'ailleurs je dois être reconnoissant, je n'ai garde de m'en défendre, je saisis même cette occasion-ci de renouveller aux pieds de Votre Majesté le vœu qu'elle sait que j'ai toujours formé de voir vos peuples et ceux-ci unis par les liens d'une franche et étroite amitié, qui feroit la prospérité des deux Empires et le bonheur du monde. Le même vœu existe dans le cabinet de Saint-James ; j'en suis certain ; et s'il survenoit un ordre de circonstances qui mît le Roi d'Angleterre à portée de manifester efficacement les sentimens exprimés dans la lettre écrite par son ordre, une alliance solide entre les deux Nations seroit le seul prix qu'il voudroit retirer des services qu'il auroit pu vous rendre.

Voilà, Sire, des vérités qu'il me paroît utile, même pressant de vous faire connoître, non pour donner aux réflexions et aux conséquences qui

doivent en résulter, plus d'essor que votre présente situation ne vous en permet, mais afin qu'au moins vous ne conserviez pas sur la puissance devenue, depuis trois ans, la plus influante dans la balance de l'Euorpe, une opinion erronée capable de déranger les idées qui peuvent germer dans les secrets de votre ame.

Oserai-je ajouter, Sire, que non-seulement toutes les branches de votre auguste maison, mais aussi toutes les puissances de l'Europe vous regardent avec une attente mêlée d'inquiétude et de désirs favorables; que tous les cœurs des vrais Français gémissent et s'irritent des attentats commis contre vos personnes sacrées; que leur soulèvement unanime contre l'état de contrainte où l'on ose retenir leur Roi, est la seule conspiration qui existe, et que si cette sainte conspiration se contient, c'est uniquement parce que on croit entendre votre silence et qu'on le respecte? Mais, Sire, si le cri du mécontentement, se fortifiant de jour en jour, venoit à éclater avec une énergie prédominante, si le génie tutélaire qui préside aux destinées de la France et à celles des Bourbons, armoit quelque jour une fidélité courageuse contre une licence effrénée, alors, sans doute, alors la France retrouveroit son Roi; il ne se refuseroit pas à des hommages légitimes, et après s'être résigné à tout sacrifice, à se sacrifier lui-même pour ses peuples lorsqu'ils poursuivoient le fantôme du bonheur, il ne les abandonneroit certainement

pas lorqu'ils voudroient se rédimer des horreurs de l'anarchie.

Ce sont, Sire, les sentimens, les vœux et les augures de celui qui est et qui sera, jusqu'au dernier souffle de sa vie,

De Votre Majesté,

Londres, le 9 Avril 1790.

Le très-fidèle sujet et très-obéissant serviteur.
Signé, DE CALONNE.

Je retiens l'original de la lettre de M. Pitt, n'étant pas assuré du sort de celle-ci, quoiqu'envoyée par le moyen le plus sûr que je puisse avoir. J'ose écrire en même-tems à la Reine, me fiant sur la pureté de mes motifs et sur l'intérêt du moment, qui me paroît devoir absorber toutes les impressions antérieures.

[N°. 9.]

APPROBATION,

DONNÉE par le Pape à l'exposition des principes sur la Constitution civile du Clergé, délibérée par les Évêques députés aux États-généraux et publiée en leur nom, et souscrite en forme d'adhésion par tous les Évêques de France, à l'exception de quatre, et par les Évêques étrangers ayant territoire et juridiction en France.

Cette approbation est consignée dans le Bref adressé par Sa Sainteté au Clergé de France et à la Nation Française, le 13 Avril 1791.

Dilectis Filiis nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus et Venerabilibus Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et Dilectis Filiis Capitulis, Clero et Populo regni Galliarum : Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

PIUS PP. VI.

Charitas quæ, docente Paulo apostolo &c. &c. &c.

. . . . . .

Nostrum interea dolorem, quo vehementer afficiebamur, non levis consolatio lenivit, dum interim major Episcoporum Gallicanorum pars sua sponte pastoralis sui muneris officiis addicta, et amore veritatis incensa, constanter adversabatur ipsi constitutioni, eamque oppugnabat in iis omnibus quæ ad Ecclesiæ regimen pertinerent. Huic autem consolationi nostræ novus quoque cumulus accessit, ubi Dilectus Filius noster S. R. E. Cardinalis Rupefucaldius, (*) *Venerabilesque Fratres Archiepiscopus Aquensis* (†) *aliique Archiepiscopi et Episcopi ad numerum usque triginta ut tot tantisque malis occurrerent ad nos confugerunt, die* 10 *Octob.*

(*) Le Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, Président de l'Ordre du Clergé aux États-généraux, avant la réunion des trois ordres.

(†) L'Archevêque d'Aix, (Boisgelin,) auteur de *l'Exposition des Principes.*

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litteris datis expositionem miserunt super principiis constitutionis cleri suo cujusque nomine subscriptam, consiliumque nostrum et opem postularunt et tutam agendi normam, in quâ conquiescerent à nobis exquisierunt tanquam à communi magistro et parente. Illud quoque magis magisque nostram consolationem adauxit quod alii Episcopi benè multi, primis adjuncti, prædictam expositionem amplexi fuerant, ita ut cùm ab Episcopis centum triginta et uno istius regni, quatuor dumtaxat dissiderent, cùmque tam ingenti Episcoporum numero, capitulorum etiam multitudo, et parochorum, sive pastorum secundi ordinis pars major accederet, hujusmodi sanè expositio, concordi animorum consensione suscepta totius Gallicani Ecclesiæ doctrina haberetur, et esset, ...

. . . . . .

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 13 Aprilis 1791, Pontificatûs nostri Anno XVII.

[N°. 10.]

Lettre adressée au Roi par les Ministres, le 21 Octobre 1790.

SIRE,

Le vœu manifesté des représentans de la Nation vous détermina le 18 Juillet de l'année dernière,

à rappeller deux d'entre nous dans votre Conseil. L'Assemblée avoit déclaré solennellement, qu'ils avoient emporté dans leur retraite, l'estime et les regrets de la Nation. Vous voulûtes encore prendre dans le sein de l'Assemblée, ceux que depuis vous avez associés aux premiers, et elle en a remercié Votre Majesté, par l'organe de son président, qui lui dit en son nom, qu'elle les auroit présentés elle-même.

Ces honorables suffrages nous étoient nécessaires, pour espérer quelques succès, et malgré la difficulté des circonstances, nous crûmes devoir n'écouter que notre zèle et notre dévouement.

Nous avions en nous-mêmes le sentiment de la droiture de nos intentions, il nous fut peut-être permis de compter que la confiance publique nous accompagneroit près de vous, Sire, qu'elle ne pourroit nous être enlevée tant que nous y conserverions tous nos droits; et la loi de la responsabilité à laquelle nous nous étions soumis avant même qu'elle fût prononcée, sembloit devoir nous mettre à l'abri des inculpations hazardées, mille fois plus dures que cette loi.

Ainsi nous avons dû mépriser les traits de la calomnie, les dénonciations vagues et tout ce qui auroit pu nous distraire des soins importans de l'administration.

Ainsi nous avons dû nous exposer à la haine des ennemis de l'ordre, et à la censure de ceux qui ne jugent les Ministres que par les évènemens,

n'apprécient ni les obstacles ni le nombre et le degré d'efforts qui ont été déployés contre eux.

Il est consolant, il est glorieux pour nous de pouvoir invoquer votre témoignage auprès de Votre Majesté elle-même. Elle sait, et elle a eu la bonté de nous le dire quelquefois, combien, dans une carrière hérissée de difficultés toujours renaissantes, il nous a fallu du courage pour y persévérer et supporter le poids de nos places. Elle sait qu'il a fallu nous oublier sans cesse nous-mêmes, pour ne nous souvenir que de l'amour de Votre Majesté pour le bien des peuples, de l'importance de nos obligations et de notre dévouement à de si grands intérêts.

C'est dans les mêmes sentimens et les mêmes principes qui nous ont fait un devoir sacré de tout sacrifice utile, que nous devons maintenant supplier Votre Majesté de prendre en considération s'il ne convient pas à ses intérêts ainsi qu'à la chose publique de choisir d'autres ministres.

Nous avons lieu de juger par ce qui vient de se passer dans l'Assemblée Nationale que nous n'obtenons plus la confiance d'un grand nombre de ceux qui la composent, et quoiqu'elle ait dans sa justice rejetté le décret qui lui a été proposé, quoiqu'il n'ait été rien articulé de précis contre nous, quoique la généralité et l'amertume des imputations n'annoncent que l'impatience de fixer sur nous le tort des malheurs publics, et qu'il nous fût facile de rendre sensible la pureté de

notre conduite, soit dans son ensemble, soit dans tous ses détails, cependant il peut résulter de l'éclat même de cette discussion, et du fantôme de méfiance que l'on cherche à susciter contre nous, une impression fâcheuse pour le bien du service de Votre Majesté.

Daignez donc, Sire, peser dans votre sagesse ce que la circonstance demande de vous. Daignez imposer silence à votre bonté naturelle et ne consulter que l'intérêt de votre personne et de votre administration.

Notre amour pour notre patrie et pour notre Roi vivra toujours dans nos cœurs, et certes quelque puisse être notre sort, nous mériterons toujours d'être comptés au nombre des bons citoyens de votre Empire.

Nous sommes &c. &c.

Signés, L'ARCHEVÊQUE DE BORDEAUX, LA LUZERNE, GUIGNARD, et LATOUR-DU-PIN.

Réponse du Roi aux Ministres.

Saint-Cloud, le 22 Octobre.

Je suis très-touché des sentimens que vous me témoignez. Personne ne sait mieux que moi combien sont peu fondées les inquiétudes que l'on a conçues à votre sujet. Je vous ai toujours vus amis du peuple, de l'ordre, de la justice et des loix. Je prendrai en grande considération

votre lettre, je ferai connoître à chacun de vous mes intentions, et j'attends de votre zèle pour le bien public et de votre attachement pour moi, que jusques là vous n'abandonnerez pas vos fonctions.

Signé LOUIS.

Lettre de Mr. de la Luzerne au Roi.

Paris, le 23 Octobre 1790.

SIRE,

Tous vos Ministres ont mis sous vos yeux leur position et l'état des affaires publiques; mais j'ai plus particulièrement fait sentir à Votre Majesté qu'il m'est devenu impossible de lui rendre des services utiles dans le département qu'elle m'a confié.

Les désordres s'étoient d'abord répandus dans différentes provinces de la France, et s'y sont bientôt accrus. On a ébranlé ensuite la fidélité ou au moins la discipline de divers corps de troupes; aujourd'hui c'est dans les possessions les plus éloignées qu'on suscite des troubles; c'est parmi les équipages des escadres et les ouvriers des ports et arsenaux, qu'on a semé le germe de la licence et de l'insubordination.

Ces ports, ces arsenaux, ces escadres, on doit les regarder comme la véritable égide des colonies françaises; je prierai Votre Majesté d'agréer

que je lui expose bientôt dans un mémoire plus étendu, en quel état je les laisse; et que je lui rende un compte détaillé de mon administration; mais je vais rapidement tracer une esquisse qui en présentera les résultats; elle suffira pour constater les ressources faciles à trouver dans ce qui subsiste, et il importe de faire connoître dès ce moment le parti qui peut être tiré après moi, de ce qui a été fait pendant ma gestion.

Une marine matérielle beaucoup plus considérable qu'elle ne l'a jamais été depuis le commencement du siècle, les approvisionnemens qu'elle exige rassemblés, soixante-et-dix vaisseaux de ligne et soixante-cinq frégates à flot, (je ne comprends dans ce nombre ni quatre vaisseaux et deux frégates qui peuvent être mis à l'eau avant la fin de cette année, ni huit autres vaisseaux et quatre frégates en construction,) une foule d'excellens officiers qui se sont signalés pendant la dernière guerre, et qu'on a constamment exercés depuis cette époque, devroient rendre la France rédoutable à toutes les puissances maritimes, préserver d'insulte ses colonies et être le plus sûr garant du maintien de la paix.

En ce moment néanmoins, les flottes des autres nations couvrent déjà les mers, et nos forces navales restent enchaînées; elles se trouvent condamnées à l'inaction et à l'inertie par l'indiscipline des marins, qui se perpétue par des mouvemens d'insurrection sans cesse renouvellés, par

les soupçons déraisonnables et injustes qu'on leur inspire chaque jour.

Désormais, Sire, un de vos anciens ministres auroit moins que qui que ce soit la faculté d'opposer à ce mal moral les remèdes qu'il faut y apporter. Il est nécessaire, il est instant, comme je l'ai constamment représenté depuis plusieurrs jours, de me nommer un successeur. Je trahirois ma conscience et la vérité que je n'ai jamais dissimulée à Votre Majesté, en n'insistant pas de nouveau sur les motifs qui rendent cette mesure indispensable. Quel que soit celui que vous choisirez pour me remplacer, il est probable qu'il n'éprouvera pas les mêmes difficultés. On n'aura pas encore cherché à aliéner de lui l'opinion publique. Il recueillera au moins les prémices de la faveur populaire, faveur qui peut seconder efficacement ses efforts, et l'aider à établir l'ordre. Cette considération est si décisive et si urgente, qu'aucune autre dans les circonstances actuelles, ne doit la balancer. Mon dévouement pour vous, Sire, est et sera toujours sans bornes. Je n'offre à Votre Majesté qu'une nouvelle preuve de mon attachement pour ses véritables intérêts, et de ma fidélité à mes devoirs, en lui adressant ma démission et en la suppliant de l'accepter.

Signé LA LUZERNE.

Réponse du Roi à Mr. de la Luzerne.

Saint-Cloud, le 23 Octobre.

Vous m'avez, Monsieur, donné l'année dernière une grande preuve de votre attachement en reprenant votre place quand j'ai cru votre retour utile pour mon service et pour le bien de l'État. Vous pensez à présent que votre retraite est nécessaire. Je retrouve en cette occasion le sentiment qui vous a toujours conduit. Je désire que vous exposiez votre conduite, comme vous me paroissez dans la résolution de le faire, et j'en ferai usage suivant les circonstances. Je n'oublierai jamais, et j'aurai du plaisir à vous témoigner ma satisfaction des marques constantes de dévouement que vous m'avez données, et c'est à regret que j'accepte votre démission.

Signé, LOUIS.

[N°. 11.]

Tableau des dépenses de l'année 1791.

Maison du Roi.	25,000,000 liv.
Maison des Princes et remplacement d'apanages.	6,000,000
TOTAL. . . .	31,000,000 liv.

Montant de l'autre part. . .	31,000,000 liv.
Culte et dépenses accessoires. .	140,000,000
Guerre.	89,000,000
Marine.	50,000,000
Affaires étrangères.	6,300,000
Ministres et autres membres du Conseil.	460,000
Bureau de l'Administration générale de la direction du trésor Royal et du trésor public.	1,450,000
Comptabilité.	300,000
Administration, Contrôle des Ponts et Chaussées, &c. . . .	206,000
Ouvrages d'art et travaux à la charge du trésor public. . . .	4,000,000
Invalides et Quinze-Vingt. . . .	846,000
Primes et encouragemens. . . .	4,000,000
Universités, enseignement, travaux littéraires.	1,000,000
Imprimerie Royale.	150,000
Édifices religieux, Communaut.	400,000
Bibliothèque du Roi.	110,000
Jardin des Plantes.	100,000
Dépôts publics.	20,000
Écoles des Mines.	7,000
Session de la Législature et accessoires.	6,000,000
TOTAL. . . .	335,349,000 liv.

Montant de l'autre part. . .	335,349,000 liv.
Pensions.	16,000,000
Rentes de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, Payeurs et Contrôleurs. . . .	152,600,000
Autres Rentes perpétuelles. . .	4,000,000
Autres Rentes viagères. . . .	3,000,000
Rentes sur le Clergé.	3,000,000
Rentes sur l'ancien Clergé. . . .	335,000
Intérêts de l'emprunt de Septembre 1789.	2,600,000
Intérêts d'emprunts et d'effets remboursables.	10,000,000
Intérêts d'emprunts des Pays d'États.	6,000,000
Autres intérêts de créances. . .	129,646
Intérêts de cautionnemens et fonds d'avance.	8,000,000
Amirauté.	6,020,000
Intérêts des charges de Finance.	2,400,000
Emprunt de Gênes et d'Amsterdam.	3,840,000
Indemnités.	1,000,000
Achat de numéraire.	4,000,000
Ateliers de charité momentanés.	5,000,000
Procédure criminelle.	3,000,000
TOTAUX.	566,271,646 liv.

[N° 12.]

Lettre de M. l'Evêque d'Autun, aux Ecclésiastiques fonctionnaires du Département de Saône et Loire, du 29 Décembre 1790.

Mes chers Collégues, l'Assemblée nationale ayant jugé nécessaire d'imposer aux fonctionnaires ecclésiastiques le serment de maintenir de tout leur pouvoir la constitution civile du Clergé, j'ai prêté ce serment, aussitôt que le décret qui l'ordonne a été accepté par le Roi, et je m'empresse de vous l'apprendre Ce devoir que j'ai rempli, dans toute la sincérité de mon ame, vous le remplirez sûrement aussi dans les mêmes sentimens qui m'ont animé. Non-seulement vous verrez qu'il importe essentiellement au maintien, ou plutôt au retour de cette paix si désirable dont nous ne devons jamais perdre de vue que nous sommes les ministres ; mais vous verrez aussi qu'il ne renferme rien qui doive alarmer la conscience la plus craintive ; que les décrets qui règlent cette constitution, ont séparé avec un soin religieux ce qui appartient au dogme, de ce qui lui est entièrement étranger ; qu'ils ne sont, sur presque tous les points, qu'un retour respectable aux loix les plus pures de l'Église, que le tems, ou les passions humaines avoient si étrangement altérées, qu'ils

ont rendu plutôt que donné au peuple le droit si naturel de désigner ses pasteurs, et qu'en réduisant le nombre des Évêques par une nouvelle circonscription territoriale, ils n'offrent à l'esprit que l'exercice le plus légitime et le plus incontestable du pouvoir civil de toutes les nations, et non un empiétement sur l'autorité spirituelle. Vous observerez à ce sujet, que, même sous l'ancien ordre des choses, la puissance civile, toute incomplète quelle étoit, auroit pu incontestablement, par des motifs d'une grande utilité publique, auroit même dû, dans le cas, par exemple, d'une calamité locale, appeller les habitans d'un Diocèse dans un autre ; que cependant il seroit résulté de là, qu'un plus grand nombre de Fidèles auroient été placés sous la juridiction d'un des deux Evêques, tandis que l'autre n'auroit plus eu de juridiction à exercer, et que c'est précisément et uniquement ce qui a été décrété par l'Assemblée nationale, mais sans déplacement des personnes. Ce rapprochement bien simple, vous paroitra, j'espère, ainsi qu'à moi, tout à fait décisif. Enfin, Messieurs, en improuvant, et toutefois en cherchant à excuser, autant qu'il sera en vous, l'erreur ou l'illusion momentanée de ceux de nos collègues qui, jusqu'à ce jour, ont méconnu ces vérités, vous ferez avec moi les vœux les plus ardens pour que tous les esprits se réunissent promptement dans la profession des mêmes principes, et vous montrerez par votre exemple que

le civisme des pasteurs rend encore plus respectable aux yeux des peuples, la Religion qu'ils enseignent.

La nouvelle circonscription des Diocèses va m'unir aux travaux de plusieurs d'entre vous que je n'ai point encore l'avantage de connoître: je les conjure d'être bien convaincus que ce sera toujours un bonheur pour moi de concourir avec eux à tout ce que la Religion, la charité et le patriotisme leur inspireront pour le plus grand bien des peuples dont les intérêts nous sont confiés en commun.

Signé, l'Évêque d'Autun.

[N°. 13.]

Projet d'adresse aux Français, rédigé par MIRABEAU, *sur la Constitution civile du Clergé.*

FRANÇAIS, au moment où l'Assemblée nationale coordonne le sacerdoce à vos loix nouvelles, afin que toutes les institutions de l'Empire, se prêtant un mutuel appui, votre liberté soit inébranlable; on s'efforce d'égarer la conscience des peuples; on dénonce de toutes parts la constitution civile du Clergé, décrétée par vos Représentans, comme dénaturant l'organisation divine de l'Église chrétienne, et ne pouvant subsister

avec les principes consacrés par l'antiquité ecclésiastique.

Ainsi, nous n'aurions pu briser les chaînes de notre servitude, sans secouer le joug de la Foi!.... Non, la liberté est loin de nous prescrire un si impraticable sacrifice. Regardez, ô citoyens! Regardez cette Église de France, dont les fondemens s'enlacent et se perdent dans ceux de l'Empire lui-même, voyez comme elle se régénère avec lui, et comme la liberté qui vient du ciel, aussi bien que notre Foi, semble montrer en elle la compagne de son éternité et de sa divinité! Voyez comme ces deux filles de la raison souveraine s'unissent pour développer et remplir toute la perfectibilité de votre sublime nature, et pour combler votre double besoin d'exister avec gloire, et d'exister toujours!

On nous reproche d'avoir refusé de décréter explicitement que la Religion catholique, apostolique et romaine est la Religion nationale.

D'avoir changé, sans l'intervention de l'autorité ecclésiastique, l'ancienne démarcation des Diocèses, et troublé par cette mesure, ainsi qu'en d'autres points de la constitution civile du Clergé, la puissance Épiscopale.

Enfin, d'avoir aboli l'ancienne forme de la nomination des pasteurs, et de la faire déterminer par l'élection des peuples.

A ces trois points se rapportent toutes les accusations d'irréligion et de persécution dont on

vouloit flétrir l'intégrité, la sagesse et l'orthodoxie de vos Répresentans. Ils vont répondre: moins pour se justifier que pour prémunir les vrais amis de la Religion contre les clameurs hypocrites des ennemis de la révolution.

Déclarer *nationale* la Religion chrétienne, eût été flétrir le caractère le plus intime et le plus essentiel du christianisme. En général, la Religion n'est pas, elle ne peut être un rapport social; elle est un rapport de l'homme privé avec l'Être infini. Comprendriez-vous ce que l'on voudroit vous dire, si l'on vous parloit d'une *conscience nationale?* Eh bien! la Religion n'est pas plus nationale que la conscience; car un homme n'est pas véritablement religieux, parce qu'il est de la religion d'une nation; et quand il n'y en auroit qu'une dans l'univers, et que tous les hommes se seroient acccordés pour la professer, il seroit encore vrai que chacun d'eux n'auroit un sentiment sincère de la Religion qu'autant que chacun seroit de la sienne; c'est-à-dire, qu'autant qu'il suivroit encore cette Religion universelle quand le genre humain viendroit à l'abjurer.

Ainsi, de quelque manière que l'on envisage une Religion, la dire *nationale*, c'est lui attribuer une dénomination insignifiante ou ridicule.

Seroit-ce comme juge de la vérité, ou comme juge de son aptitude à former de bons citoyens que le législateur rendroit une Religion *constitutionelle?* Mais d'abord, y a-t-il des vérités *na-*

tionales? En second lieu, peut-il jamais être utile au bonheur public que la conscience des hommes soit enchaînée par la loi de l'État? La loi ne nous unit les uns aux autres que dans les points où nous nous touchons. Or, les hommes ne se touchent que par la superficie de leur être; par la pensée et la conscience, ils demeurent isolés; et l'association leur laisse à cet égard l'existence absolue de la nature.

Enfin, il ne peut y avoir de national dans un empire que des institutions établies pour produire des effets politiques, et la Religion n'étant que la correspondance de la pensée et de la spiritualité de l'homme avec la pensée divine, avec l'esprit universel, il s'ensuit qu'elle ne peut prendre sous ce rapport aucune forme civile ou légale. Le christianisme principalement s'exclut par son essence de tout système de législation locale. Dieu n'a pas créé ce flambeau pour prêter des formes et des couleurs à l'organisation sociale des Français; mais il l'a posé au milieu de l'univers pour être le point de ralliement et le centre d'unité du genre humain. Que ne nous blâme-t-on aussi de n'avoir pas déclaré que le soleil est *l'astre de la nation*, et que nul autre ne sera reconnu devant la loi pour régler la succession des nuits et des jours.

Ministres de l'Evangile! vous croyez que le christianisme est le profond et éternel système de Dieu, qu'il est la raison de l'existence d'un uni-

vers et d'un genre humain; qu'il embrasse toutes les générations et tous les tems; qu'il est le lien d'une société éparse dans tous les Empires du monde, *et qui se rassemblera des quatre vents de la terre* pour s'élever dans les splendeurs de l'inébranlable Empire de l'éternité. Et avec ces idées si vastes, si universelles, si supérieures à toutes les localités humaines, vous demandez que par une loi constitutionnelle de notre régime naissant, le christianisme, si fort de sa majesté et de son antiquité, soit déclaré la Religion des Français.

Ah! c'est vous qui outragez la Religion de nos pères. Vous voulez que, semblable à ces Religions mensongères, nées de l'ignorance des hommes, accréditées par les dominateurs de la terre, et confondues dans les institutions politiques comme un moyen d'oppression, elle soit déclarée la Religion de la loi et des Césars!

Sans doute, là où une croyance absurde a enfanté un régime tyrannique, là où une constitution perverse dérive d'un culte insensé, il faut bien que la Religion fasse partie essentielle de la constitution.

Mais le christianisme, foible et chancelant dans sa naissance, n'a point invoqué l'appui des loix, ni l'adoption des gouvernemens: ses ministres eussent refusé pour lui une existence légale, parce qu'il falloit que Dieu seul parût dans ce qui n'étoit que son ouvrage; et il nous manqueroit aujourd'hui la preuve la plus éclatante de sa vé-

rité, si tous ceux qui professoient avant nous cette Religion sainte, l'eussent trouvée dans la législation des *Empires*.

O étrange conséquence! Quels sont ces hommes qui nous demandoient, avec une chaleur et une amertume si peu chrétienne, un décret qui rendît le christianisme *constitutionnel?* Ce sont les mêmes qui blâmoient la constitution nouvelle; qui la présentoient comme la subversion de toutes les loix de la justice et de la sagesse, qui la dénonçoient de toute part comme l'arme de la perversité, de la force et de la vengeance; ce sont les mêmes qui nous disoient que cette constitution devoit perdre l'Etat et déshonorer la Nation française.

O hommes de mauvaise foi! pourquoi vouliez-vous donc introduire une Religion que vous faites profession de chérir et d'adorer dans une législation que vous faites gloire de décrier et de haïr? pourquoi vouliez-vous unir ce qu'il y a de plus auguste et de plus saint dans l'univers à ce que vous regardez comme le plus scandaleux monument de la malice humaine? *Quel rapport*, vous diroit S. Paul, *peut-il s'établir entre la justice et l'iniquité? et que pourroit-il y avoir de commun entre le Christ et Bélial?*

Non, Français! ce n'est ni la bonne foi, ni la piété sincère qui suscitent au milieu de vos Représentans toutes ces contestations religieuses; ce sont les passions des hommes qui s'efforcent

de se cacher sous des voiles imposans pour couvrir plus impunément leurs ténébreux desseins.

Remontez au berceau de la Religion; c'est là que vous pourrez vous former l'idée de sa vraie nature, et déterminer le mode d'existence sous lequel son divin fondateur a voulu qu'elle régnât dans l'univers. Jésus-Christ est le seul de tous les Sages qui se sont appliqués à instruire les hommes et à les rendre bons et heureux, qui ne les ait envisagés sous aucun rapport politique, et qui n'ait, en aucune circonstance, mêlé à son enseignement des principes relatifs à la législation des Empires. * Quelle que soit l'influence de l'Évangile sur la moralité humaine, jamais J. C. ni ses disciples ne firent entendre que l'institution évangélique dût entrer dans les loix constitutionnelles des nations. Il n'ordonne nulle part à ceux qu'il a choisis pour publier sa doctrine, de la présenter aux législateurs du monde comme renfermant des vues nouvelles sur l'art de gouverner les peuples: *Allez et instruisez les hommes, en disant, voici que le Royaume de Dieu approche; et lorsque vous entrerez dans une ville ou dans un hameau, demandez qui sont ceux qui veulent vous écouter, et restez y autant qu'il le faudra pour leur apprendre ce que vous devez leur enseigner; mais si l'on refuse de vous écouter, sortez; et soyez en tout prudens comme les serpens, et simples comme les colombes.*

L'Evangile est donc, par son institution, une

économie toute spirituelle offerte aux mortels en tant qu'ils ont une destination ultérieure aux fins de l'association civile, et considérée hors de toutes les relations politiques ; il est proposé à l'homme comme sa seconde raison, comme le supplément de sa conscience, et non à la société comme un nouvel objet de mesures législatives. Enfin, l'Évangile a demandé, en paroissant au monde, que les hommes le *reçussent*, et que les gouvernemens le *souffrissent* : c'est là le caractère extérieur qui le distingua dès son origine de toutes les autres Religions qui avoient tyrannisé la terre, et c'est aussi ce qui doit le distinguer jusqu'à la fin des tems, de tous les cultes qui ne subsistent que par leur incorporation dans les loix des Empires.

C'est donc une vérité établie sur la nature des choses, sur les lumières du bon sens, et sur l'essence même de l'institution évangélique, que vos Représentans, ô Français ! ne devoient, ni ne pouvoient décréter *nationale*, la Religion catholique, apostolique et romaine.

Mais, puisque le christianisme est une économie toute spirituelle, hors de la puissance et de l'inspection des hommes, pourquoi nous sommes-nous attribué le droit de changer, sans l'intervention spirituelle, l'ancienne démarcation des Diocèses ?

Certes, on devroit nous demander aussi pourquoi nous sommes chrétiens, pourquoi nous avons assigné sur le trésor national, aux Ministres de

l'Évangile et aux dépenses du culte, la plus solide partie des revenus de l'État?

D'après les élémens de la constitution chrétienne, son culte est l'objet de *l'acceptation* libre des hommes et de la *tolérance* des gouvernemens. Il ne peut être réputé que *souffert*, tant qu'il n'est reçu et observé que par un petit nombre des citoyens de l'Empire; mais, dès qu'il est devenu le culte de la majorité de la Nation, il perd sa dénomination de *culte toléré*, il est alors un *culte reçu*: il est de fait *la Religion du public*, sans être de droit, *la Religion nationale*, car une Religion n'est pas adoptée par la Nation, en tant qu'elle est une *puissance*, mais en tant qu'elle est une *collection* d'hommes.

Dans cet état du culte, son exercice n'ayant aucune correspondance avec l'ordre civil, il en résulte plusieurs conséquences.

Premièrement. L'autorité ecclésiastique peut partager entre les pasteurs, la conduite spirituelle des fidèles, suivant telles divisions ou démarcations que lui prescrivent son intérêt et sa sagesse; et le gouvernement, qui n'est lié par aucun point au régime religieux, n'a rien à voir, ni à réformer dans des circonscriptions qui n'ont pas de visibilité politique.

Secondement. Dans cette situation du culte, qui fut si long-tems la seule que l'ancien sacerdoce ait demandée aux puissances de la terre, la subsistance des ministres, la construction et l'entretien

des temples, et toutes les dépenses du cérémonial religieux, sont une charge étrangère au fisc ; car ce qui n'appartient pas à l'institution politique, ne peut être du ressort de la dépense publique.

Troisièmement. Mais du moment que l'institution chrétienne, adoptée par la majorité des citoyens de l'Empire, a été allouée par la puissance nationale; du moment que cette même puissance, prenant sur elle toutes les charges de l'État temporel de la Religion, et pourvoyant à tous les besoins du culte de ses ministres, a garanti sur la foi de la Nation et sur les fonds de son trésor, la perpétuité et l'immutabilité de l'acceptation qu'elle a faite du christianisme, dès-lors cette Religion a reçu dans l'État une existence civile et légale, qui est le plus grand honneur qu'une Nation puisse rendre à la sainteté et à la majesté de l'Évangile, et dès-lors aussi c'est à cette puissance nationale qui a donné à l'institution religieuse une existence civile, qu'appartient la faculté d'en déterminer l'organisation civile, et de lui assigner sa constitution extérieure et légale. Elle peut et elle doit s'emparer de la Religion, selon le caractère public qu'elle lui a imprimé, et par tous les points où elle l'a établie en correspondance avec l'institution sociale. Elle peut et elle doit s'attribuer l'ordonnance du culte dans tout ce qu'elle lui a fait acquérir d'extérieur, dans toute l'ampleur physique qu'elle lui a fait contracter, dans tous les rapports où elle l'a mis avec la grande

machine de l'Etat; enfin, dans tout ce qui n'est pas de sa constitution spirituelle, intime et primitive. C'est donc au gouvernement à régler les démarcations diocésaines, puisqu'elles sont le plus grand caractère public de la Religion, et la manifestation de son existence légale. Comment le ministère sacerdotal ne seroit-il pas subordonné, dans le partage des fonctions du culte, à la même autorité qui prescrit les limites de toutes les autres fonctions publiques, et qui détermine toutes les circonscriptions de l'Empire?

Eh! que l'on nous dise ce que signifie l'intervention de l'autorité spirituelle dans une distribution toute politique. Une nation qui, recevant dans son sein, et unissant à son régime la Religion chrétienne, dispose tellement le système de toutes ses administrations, que partout où elle trouve des hommes à gouverner, là aussi elle prépose un premier pasteur à leur enseignement religieux; une telle nation s'attribue-t-elle un pouvoir sacerdotal? Entreprend-t-elle quelque chose sur les consciences, sur les dogmes de la Foi, sur ses sacremens, sur ses rapports et ses dépendances hiérarchiques?

Mais, nous dit-on, la juridiction spirituelle des Evêques a changé avec l'ancienne division des diocèses, et il faut bien que le Pontife de Rome intervienne pour accorder aux Evêques des pouvoirs accommodés à la nouvelle constitution. Que ceux d'entre nos pasteurs qui ont le cœur droit et l'esprit capable d'observation, s'élèvent au

dessus des idées et des traditions d'une théologie inventée pour défigurer la Religion, et la subordonner aux vues ambitieuses de quelques hommes, et ils reconnoîtront que le fondateur du christianisme semble avoir constitué son sacerdoce d'après la prévoyance de sa destinée future; c'est-à-dire, qu'il l'a fait tel qu'il pût se prêter à toutes les formes civiles des Etats où l'institution chrétienne seroit adoptée, et s'exercer dans toutes les directions et selon toutes les circonscriptions qui lui seroient assignées par les loix des Empires.

Est-ce en donnant à chacun d'eux une portion de puissance limitée par des bornes territoriales que J. C. a institué les Apôtres? Non; c'est en conférant à chacun d'eux la plénitude de la puissance spirituelle, ensorte qu'un seul, possédant la juridiction de tous, soit établi le pasteur du genre humain. " Allez, leur dit-il; répandez-vous „ dans l'Univers; prêchez l'Évangile à toute créa„ ture..... Je vous envoie comme mon Père „ m'a envoyé. "

Si donc, au moment de leur mission, les Apôtres se fussent partagé l'enseignement de l'univers, et qu'ensuite les puissances fussent venues changer les circonscriptions qu'ils s'étoient volontairement assignées, aucun d'eux se seroit-il inquiété que sa juridiction ne se trouvât pas la même? Croit-on qu'ils eussent reproché à l'autorité publique de s'attribuer le droit de restreindre ou d'é-

tendre l'autorité spirituelle ? Pense-t-on sur-tout qu'ils eussent invoqué l'intervention de St. Pierre pour se faire réintégrer dans les fonctions de l'Apostolat par une mission nouvelle ?

Et pourquoi auroient-ils recours à ce premier chef de l'Église universelle ? Sa primauté ne consistoit pas dans la possession d'une plus grande puissance spirituelle, ni dans une juridiction plus éminente et plus étendue. Il n'avoit pas reçu de mission particulière; il n'avoit pas été établi le pasteur des hommes par une inauguration spéciale et séparée de celle des autres Apôtres. St. Pierre étoit pasteur en vertu des mêmes paroles qui donnèrent à tous ses collègues l'Univers à instruire, et le genre humain à sanctifier. Aussi voyons-nous St. Paul et les autres Apôtres établir des Évêques et des Prêtres, dans les différentes contrées où ils ont porté le flambeau de l'Evangile, et les instituer pasteurs des troupeaux qu'ils ont conquis au christianisme dès son origine, et nous ne voyons nulle part qu'ils aient invoqué, pour remplir cet objet sacré, l'autorité de St. Pierre, ni que les nouveaux pasteurs aient attendu de lui l'institution canonique.

Quelle idée les Pontifes de notre culte ont-ils donc de leur mission, puisqu'ils n'y reconnoissent plus le même caractère dont les Apôtres furent revêtus ? S'il est vrai que le sacerdoce chrétien n'a été institué qu'une fois pour tous les siècles, la puissance apostolique ne subsiste-t-elle pas au-

jourd'hui dans les Evêques comme successeurs des Apôtres à l'universalité de sa primitive institution ? Chacun d'eux au moment de sa consécration n'est-il pas devenu ce que fut chaque Apôtre au moment où il reçut la sienne aux pieds du Pasteur éternel de l'Eglise ? Et n'est-il pas envoyé comme J. C. l'a été par son Père ? Enfin, n'at-il pas été investi d'une aptitude applicable à tous les lieux, à tous les hommes, et toujours subsistante, sans nulle altération, au milieu de tous les changemens, de tous les accroissemens et de toutes les variations que peuvent éprouver la démarcation des Églises ?

Veillez votre conduite, dit St. Paul aux Evêques qu'il avoit établis en Asie, *veillez votre conduite et celle du troupeau pour lequel le St. Esprit vous a consacrés Evêques, en vous donnant le gouvernement de l'Eglise de Dieu, que J. C. a fondée par son sang.* Pesez ces paroles, et demandez-vous si St. Paul croyoit à la *localité* de la juridiction épiscopale.

Les Evêques sont donc essentiellement chargés du régime de l'Eglise universelle, comme l'étoient les Apôtres : leur mission est actuelle, immédiate, et absolument indépendante de toute circonscription locale. L'onction de l'épiscopat suffit aussi à leur institution, et ils n'ont pas plus besoin de la sanction du Pontife de Rome que S. Paul n'eut besoin de celle de S. Pierre. Le Pontife de Rome n'est comme S. Pierre le fut

lui même, que le pasteur indiqué pour être le point de réunion de tous les pasteurs, l'interpellateur des juges de la Foi, le dépositaire de la croyance de toutes les Eglises, le conservateur de la communion universelle, et le surveillant de tout le régime intérieur et spirituel de la Religion.

Or, tous ces rapports n'établissent aucune distinction ni aucune dépendance réellement hiérarchique entre lui et les Evêques des autres Eglises; et ceux-ci ne lui doivent en montant sur le siége, que l'attestation de leur union au centre de la Foi universelle, de leur volonté d'être pasteurs dans l'esprit et dans le sens de la croyance catholique, et de correspondre au saint siége comme au principal tronc de l'autorité que J. C. a donnée à son Eglise.

On ne connut jamais dans l'antiquité ecclésiastique d'autres formes pour l'installation des Pontifes: *je professe,* écrivoit autrefois un Evêque au Pape S. Damase, que *je suis uni de communion à votre Sainteté, c'est-à-dire, à la Chaire de S. Pierre. Je sais que l'Eglise a été bâtie sur cette pierre. Celui qui mange la Pâque hors de cette maison, est un profane ; qui n'amasse pas avec vous, est un dissipateur.* Voilà la détermination précise du rapport que J. C. a établi entre S. Pierre et les autres Apôtres, et la seule règle de la correspondance à maintenir entre Rome et toutes les Eglises de la catholicité ; et c'est aussi la seule dont l'Assemblée Nationale ait recommandé l'obser-

vation aux premiers pasteurs de l'Eglise de France.

C'est en recourant à cette source antique et incorruptible de la vraie science ecclésiastique, que les bons esprits se convaincront aussi que les Evêques métropolitains reçoivent, par la seule *occupation* du siége désigné pour métropole, tous les pouvoirs nécessaires pour exercer leurs fonctions. C'est sur-tout en France une vérité de principe, que la puissance épiscopale n'a d'autres limites, que celles que des considérations d'ordre et de police ont forcé de prescrire; c'est-à-dire, des bornes purement territoriales. Les métropoles ne sont-elles-mêmes que des établissemens de police. L'épiscopat du métropolitain n'est pas différent de celui de ses Evêques suffragans. Sa supériorité sur eux, il ne la tient pas d'une mission particulière, mais seulement de la ville où son siége est établi. Cette espèce d'hiérarchie sacerdotale, etoit toute calquée sur la hiérarchie civile; et les empereurs désignoient à leur gré, le siége de ces établissemens.

Nous accusera-t-on d'avoir encore rétréci la puissance épiscopale, d'avoir élevé le simple sacerdoce au niveau de l'Episcopat? Ne semble-t-il pas plutôt que notre premier objet dans les dispositions que nous avons statuées sur son régime, ait été de lui rendre cette immensité qu'il eut dans son origine, et de détruire toutes ces limites où un ancien et épais nuage de préjugés

et d'erreurs en avoit concentré l'exercice? A moins que ce n'eût été rompre la gradation hiérarchique qui distingue les premiers pasteurs inférieurs, que de donner à l'Evêque de chaque Eglise un conseil, et de régler qu'il ne pourroit faire aucun acte d'autorité *en ce qui concerne le gouvernement du diocèse* qu'après en avoir délibéré avec le presbytère diocésain: comme si cette supériorité que le pontife possède *de droit divin* sur son clergé l'affranchissoit du devoir imposé *de droit naturel* à tous les hommes chargés d'un soin vaste et difficile, d'invoquer le secours et de consulter les lumières de l'expérience, de la maturité et de la sagesse: comme si dans ce point, de même que dans tous les autres, l'Assemblée Nationale n'avoit pas rétabli les usages de l'ancienne Eglise. *Tout s'y faisoit par conseil*, dit FLEURY, *parce qu'on ne cherchoit qu'à y faire régner la raison, la règle, la volonté de Dieu..... En chaque Eglise, l'Evêque ne faisoit rien d'important sans le conseil des prêtres de son diocèse et des principaux de son clergé. Souvent même il consultoit tout le peuple, quand il avoit intérêt à l'affaire comme aux ordinations.*

Mais la même puissance qui possède exclusivement la législation nationale a-telle pu et dû faire disparoître l'ancienne forme de la nomination des pasteurs, et la soumettre à l'élection des peuples?

Oui, certes, elle a eu ce droit; si l'attribution

d'une fonction appartient essentiellement à ceux qui en sont l'objet et la fin; et le sacerdoce français lui doit aussi à cet égard l'exemple du respect et de l'obéissance. C'est pour les hommes qu'il existe une Religion et un sacerdoce, et non pour la divinité qui n'en a pas besoin. *Tout Pontife*, dit S. Paul, *choisi du milieu des hommes, est établi pour le service des hommes; il doit être tel qu'il sache compatir à l'ignorance, se plier à la foiblesse, et éclairer l'erreur.*

Et non seulement l'Apôtre proclame ici le droit du peuple aux élections ecclésiastiques, comme dérivant de la nature des choses, mais il l'appuie par des considérations particulières d'ordre et de circonstance. Le service sacerdotal est un ministère d'humanité, de condescendance, de zèle et de charité; c'est pourquoi St. Paul recommande de ne confier qu'à des hommes doués d'une ame vraiment paternelle et sensible, qu'à des hommes dès long-tems exercés aux bonnes actions, et connus publiquement par leurs inclinations pacifiques et leurs habitudes bienfaisantes; c'est pourquoi aussi il indique pour juges de leur aptitude aux fonctions de Pontife et de pasteur du peuple, ceux qui ont été les spectateurs de leur conduite et les objets de leurs soins.

Cependant, parce que l'Assemblée Nationale de France, chargée de proclamer les droits sacrés du peuple, l'a rappellé aux élections ecclésiastiques, parce qu'elle a rétabli l'antique forme de

ces élections, et tiré de sa désuétude un procédé qui fut une source de gloire pour la Religion, aux beaux jours de sa nouveauté, voilà que des ministres de la Religion crient à l'usurpation, au scandale, à l'impiété; réprouvent comme un attentat à la plus imprescriptible autorité du Clergé, le droit d'élection restitué au peuple, et osent réclamer le concours prétendu nécessaire du Pontife de Rome.

Lorsqu'autrefois un Pape immoral et un despote violent fabriquèrent, à l'insu de l'Église et de l'Empire, ce contrat profane et scandaleux, ce concordat qui n'étoit que la coalition de deux usurpateurs, pour se partager les droits et l'or des Français, on vit la Nation et son Clergé opposer à ce brigandage tout l'éclat d'une résistance unanime, redemander les élections, et revendiquer avec une énergie persévérante *la pragmatique*, qui seule avoit fait jusqu'alors le droit commun du Royaume.

Et c'est ce concordat irréligieux, cette convention simoniaque qui, au tems où elle se fit, attira sur elle tous les anathêmes du sacerdoce français; c'est cette stipulation criminelle de l'ambition et de l'avarice, ce pacte ignominieux qui imprimoit, depuis des siècles, aux plus saintes fonctions la tache honteuse de la vénalité, qu'aujourd'hui nos prélats ont l'impudeur de réclamer au nom de la Religion, à la face de l'univers, à côté du berceau

de la liberté, dans le sanctuaire des loix régénératrices de l'Empire et de l'Autel.

Mais, dit-on, le choix des pasteurs confié à la disposition du peuple ne sera plus que le produit de la cabale.

Parmi les plus implacables détracteurs du rétablissement des élections, combien en est-il à qui nous pourrions faire cette terrible réponse? " Est-ce à vous à emprunter l'accent de la piété pour condamner une loi qui vous assigne des successeurs dignes de l'estime et de la vénération de ce peuple qui n'a cessé de conjurer le ciel d'accorder à ses enfans un pasteur qui les console et les édifie? Est-ce à vous d'invoquer la Religion contre la stabilité d'une constitution qui doit en être l'inébranlable appui; vous qui ne pourriez soutenir un seul instant la vue de ce que vous êtes, si, tout à coup l'austère vérité venoit à manifester au grand jour les ténébreuses et lâches intrigues qui ont déterminé votre élévation à l'Episcopat, vous qui êtes les créatures de la plus perverse administration, vous qui êtes le fruit de cette iniquité effrayante, qui appelloit aux premiers emplois du sacerdoce ceux qui croupissoient dans l'oisiveté et l'ignorance, et qui fermoit impitoyablement les portes du sanctuaire à la portion sage et laborieuse de l'ordre écclésiastique?

Comment ces hommes qui font ostentation d'un si grand zèle pour assurer aux Eglises un choix de pasteurs dignes d'un nom si saint, com-

ment ont-ils donc pu se taire si long-tems, lorsqu'ils voyoient le sort de la Religion, et le partage des augustes fonctions de l'Apostolat abandonnés à la gestion d'un ministre esclave des intrigues qui environnoient le trône? Les occasions de s'élever contre un sacrilège trafic, se présentoient au Clergé à des époques régulièrement renaissantes; que faisoit-il dans ses assemblées? Au lieu de chercher un remède à la déplorable destinée de la Religion, et d'éclairer la sagesse d'un prince religieux et juste, sur l'impiété qui laissoit le soin de pourvoir de pasteurs l'Eglise de France aux impitoyables oppresseurs qui se jouoient de la détresse et des larmes du peuple, il portoit puérilement aux pieds du Monarque un vain et lâche tribut d'adulation, et des contributions dont il imposoit la charge à la classe pauvre, assidue et résidente des ouvriers évangéliques.

Et qui ne voit que demander une autre forme de nomination aux offices ecclésiastiques, c'eût été dans nos prélats, condamner trop ouvertement leur création anti-canonique, et s'avouer à la face de la Nation pour des *intrus* qu'il falloit destituer ou remplacer.

Que si, n'osant régénérer d'une manière absolue le rétablissement de la forme élective pour les offices ecclésiastiques, les Prélats nous répètent encore que le mode décrété par le Corps législatif, est *contraire aux formes anciennes* qui toujours accordèrent au sacerdoce les honneurs

de la prépondérance, nous leur demanderons s'ils ont trouvé cette influence fondée sur une loi précise de la constitution évangélique, et si elle étoit un effet des règles sur lesquelles J. C. a organisé le régime de la Religion, nous leur demanderons quelles furent les premières élections qui suivirent immédiatement la fondation du Christianisme. La multitude des disciples choisit sur l'invitation des Apôtres, sept hommes pleins du S. Esprit et de sagesse, pour les aider dans les soins de l'Apostolat. Ces hommes reçurent des Apôtres l'imposition des mains, et ils furent les premiers Diacres.

Et de nos jours, quand et comment le Clergé intervenoit-il donc dans le travail de la distribution des places diocèsaines et paroissiales? Il y avoit des siéges pontificaux à remplir, et le Roi les donnoit. Il y avoit des titres de riches Abbayes à conférer, et la Cour les conféroit. Une très-grande partie des bénéfices-cures étoient à la disposition des patrons ou collateurs laïcs, et ces laïcs en disposoient. Un non catholique, un juif, par la simple acquisition de certaines seigneuries, devenoient les arbitres de la destinée de la Religion et de l'état moral d'un grand nombre de Paroisses. Ainsi les grands titres et les grandes places de l'Église se distribuoient sans la participation et même à l'inçu du Clergé; et ce qui lui restoit de droit sur les nominations obscures et subalternes,

ne servoit qu'à rendre plus publique et plus sensible sa nullité en administration bénéficiale.

Sans doute, il fut un âge de l'Eglise où le sacerdoce présidoit les assemblées convoquées pour créer des Pasteurs, et le peuple régloit, sur le suffrage du Clergé, la détermination de son choix; mais pourquoi nos Prélats, au lieu de s'arrêter à des tems intermédiaires, où les formes primitives étoient altérées, ne remontent-ils pas jusqu'à ces élections si contiguës au berceau de l'Eglise où chaque ville et chaque hameau avoit son Pontife et où le peuple seul proclamoit et intrônisoit son Pasteur? Car il faut bien remarquer que l'association du Clergé aux assemblées électives date de la diminution des siéges episcopaux, c'est-à-dire, qu'elle a sa cause dans la difficulté d'assembler la multitude de ceux qui appartenoient à une seule Eglise.

A ces mêmes époques où le sacerdoce étoit l'ame des assemblées convoquées pour l'élection des ministres du sanctuaire, les Evêques pauvres et austères portoient tout le fardeau du ministère religieux. Les Prêtres inférieurs n'étoient que leurs assistans. C'étoient les Evêques seuls qui offroient le sacrifice public, qui prêchoient les fidèles, qui catéchisoient les enfans, qui portoient les aumônes de l'Eglise dans les réduits de l'infortune, qui visitoient les asiles publics de la vieillesse, de l'infirmité et de l'indigence, qui parcouroient de leurs pieds meurtris et vénérables,

les vallées profondes et les montagnes escarpées, pour répandre les lumières et les consolations de la Foi dans le sein des innocens, habitans des champs et des bourgades. Voilà des faits précisément parallèles à celui de l'influence des Evêques sur le choix des Pasteurs. Or, voudroit-on transformer ces *faits* en autant de points du *droit* ecclésiastique, et prononcer que la conduite des Prélats, qui n'évangélisent pas leur troupeau, et qui voyagent dans des chars somptueux, est contraire à la constitution essentielle de l'Eglise?

La forme adoptée par l'Assemblée nationale est donc la plus saine, puisqu'elle est la plus conforme aux procédés des tems apostoliques, et que rien n'est si évangélique et si pur que ce qui dérive de la haute antiquité ecclésiastique.

La coupable résistance des Prêtres aux loix de leur pays, l'opiniâtreté de leurs efforts pour faire revivre le double despotisme du sacerdoce et du trône, ont aliéné d'eux la confiance de leurs concitoyens, et ils n'ont pas été appellés de nos jours en grand nombre dans les corps chargés désormais de proclamer les choix du peuple.

Mais le tems arrivera où une autre génération de Pasteurs créés par les citoyens, s'attachant aux loix et à la liberté, comme à la source de son existence et de sa vraie grandeur, regagnera cette haute considération, qui donnoit tant d'autorité au sacerdoce de l'ancienne Eglise, et rendoit sa présence si chère à ces assemblées majestueuses,

où les mains d'un peuple innombrable portoient solennellement la thiare sacrée sur la tête la plus humble et la plus sage.

Alors les défiances inquiètes et les soupçons fâcheux disparoîtront. La confiance, le respect et l'amour du pauvre ouvriront aux Prêtres les portes de ces assemblées comme aux plus respectables conservateurs de l'esprit public et de l'incorruptible patriotisme. On s'honorera de déférer à leurs suffrages; car rien n'est en effet plus honorable pour une Nation, que d'accorder une grande autorité à ceux que son choix n'a pu appeler aux grandes places de la Religion, sans leur reconnoître l'avantage des grands talens et le mérite des grandes vertus. Alors le sacerdoce et l'Empire, la Religion et la patrie, le sanctuaire des mystères sacrés, et le temple de la liberté, des loix, au lieu de se croiser et de se heurter au gré des intérêts qui divisent les hommes, ne composeront plus qu'un seul système de bonheur public, et la France apprendra aux nations, que l'Evangile et la liberté sont les bases inséparables de la vraie législation, et le fondement éternel de l'état le plus parfait du genre humain.

Voilà l'époque glorieuse et salutaire qu'a voulu préparer l'Assemblée nationale, que hâteront de concert avec les loix nouvelles, la lumière et les vertus du sacerdoce, mais que pourroient aussi reculer ses préjugés, ses passions, ses résistances.

Pasteurs et disciples de l'Evangile, qui calomniez les principes des législateurs de votre patrie, savez-vous ce que vous faites ? Vous consolez l'impiété des insurmontables obstacles que la loi avoit opposés aux progrès de son désolant système; et c'est de vous-mêmes que l'ennemi du dogme évangélique attend aujourd'hui l'abolition de tout culte, et l'extinction de tout sentiment religieux. Figurez-vous que les partisans de l'irreligion, calculant les gradations par où le faux zèle de la Foi la conduit à sa perte, prononcent dans leur cercle ce terrible discours.

" Nos représentans avoient reporté sur les bases antiques l'édifice du christianisme, et nos mesures pour le renverser étoient à jamais déconcertées. Mais ce qui devoit donner à la Religion une si grande et si imperturbable existence, devient maintenant le gage de notre triomphe et le signal de la chûte du sacerdoce et de ses temples. Voyez ces Prélats et ces Prêtres qui soufflent dans toutes les contrées du Royaume l'esprit de soulèvement et de fureur; voyez ces protestations perfides où l'on menace de l'enfer ceux qui reçoivent la liberté, et qui refusent de redemander l'esclavage auxquels ils ont échappé. Voyez cette affectation de prêter aux législateurs de l'Empire le caractère atroce des anciens persécuteurs des chrétiens. Voyez le sacerdoce méditant sans cesse des moyens pour s'emparer de la force publique, pour la déployer contre ceux qui l'ont

dépouillé de ses anciennes usurpations, pour remonter sur le trône de son orgueil, pour faire refluer dans ses palais un or qui en étoit le scandale et la honte. Voyez avec quelle ardeur il égare les consciences, alarme la piété des simples, effraie la timité des foibles, et comme il s'attache à faire croire au peuple que la révolution et la Religion ne peuvent subsister ensemble. "

Or, le peuple finira par le croire en effet; et balancé dans l'alternative d'être chrétien ou libre, il prendra le parti qui coûtera le moins à son besoin de respirer de ses anciens malheurs: et alors il abjurera son christianisme; il maudira ses pasteurs; il ne voudra plus connoître ni adorer que le Dieu créateur de la nature et de la liberté; et alors tout ce qui lui retracera le souvenir du Dieu de l'Evangile lui sera odieux; il ne voudra plus sacrifier que sur l'autel de la patrie; il ne verra ses anciens temples que comme des monumens qui ne sauroient plus servir qu'à attester combien il fut long-tems le jouet de l'imposture et la victime du mensonge, il ne pourra donc plus souffrir que le prix de sa sueur et de son sang soient appliqués aux dépenses d'un culte qu'elle rejette, et qu'une portion immense de la ressource publique soit appliquée à un sacerdoce conspirateur. Et voilà comment cette Religion, qui a résisté à toutes les controverses humaines, étoit destinée à s'anéantir dans le tombeau que lui consacroient ses propres ministres.

Ah ! tremblez que cette supputation de l'incrédulité ne se soit fondée sur les plus alarmantes vraisemblances ! Ne diroit-on pas que tous ceux qui se font une étude de décrier comme attentatoire aux droits de la Religion, le procédé que vos représentans ont suivi dans l'organisation du ministère ecclésiastique, ne croiroit-on pas qu'ils ont le même but que l'impiété, qu'ils prévoient le même dénouement, et qu'ils sont résolus à la perte du Christianisme, pourvu qu'ils soient vengés, et qu'ils aient épuisé tous les moyens de recouvrer leur puissance et de nous replonger dans la servitude. C'est-à-dire, que la seule différence qui distingue ici la doctrine irréligieuse de l'aristocratie ecclésiastique ; c'est que la première ne souhaite la ruine de la Religion, que pour rendre plus sûr le triomphe de la constitution et de la liberté, et que la seconde ne tend à la destruction de la Foi que dans l'espoir de la voir entraîner dans sa chûte la liberté et la constitution de l'Empire : l'une n'aspire à voir sa loi s'éteindre parmi nous, qu'en croyant qu'elle est un obstacle à la parfaite liberté des hommes ; l'autre expose la Foi aux plus grands dangers, dans le dessein de vous ravir ce que vous avez reconquis de vos droits, et de jouir encore une fois de votre abaissement et de votre misère. Enfin, l'une ne haït dans la Religion que ce qui paroît y consacrer des principes favorables aux tyrans ; et l'autre la livre volontairement à tous les hazards

d'un choc dont elle attend le retour de la tyrannie, et la renaissance de tous les ordres. Ainsi, l'esprit d'humanité qui se mêle aux entreprises de l'incrédulité contre l'Evangile, en adoucit et en fait, en quelque sorte, pardonner la témérité et l'injustice. Mais comment pourroit être excusé notre sacerdoce du mal qu'il fait à la Religion, pour renfoncer les hommes dans le malheur et recouvrer une puissance dont la privation soulève toutes ses passions et consterne toutes ses habitudes?

O vous, qui êtes de bonne foi avec le Ciel et votre conscience, pasteurs qui n'avez balancé jusqu'à ce jour à sceller de votre serment la nouvelle constitution civile du clergé, que par l'appréhension sincère de vous rendre complices d'une usurpation; rappellez-vous ces tems anciens où la Foi chrétienne, réduite à concentrer toute sa majesté et tous ses trésors dans le silence et les ténèbres des cavernes, tressailloit d'une joie si douce et si pure lorsqu'on venoit annoncer à ses pontifes austères et vénérables le repos du glaive de la persécution, lorsqu'on leur apprenoit la fin d'un règne cruel et l'avènement d'un prince plus humain et plus sage, lorsqu'ils pouvoient sortir avec moins de frayeur des cavités profondes où ils avoient érigé leurs autels pour aller consoler et affermir la piété de leurs humbles disciples, lorsqu'ils pouvoient laisser sortir de dessous terre

quelques éteincelles du flambeau divin dont ils gardoient le précieux dépôt.

Or, supposons que l'un de ces hommes vénérables, sortant tout-à-coup de ces catacombes antiques où sa cendre est confondue avec celles de tant de Martyrs, vienne aujourd'hui contempler au milieu de nous la gloire dont la Religion s'y voit environnée, et qu'il découvre d'un coup-d'œil tous ces temples, ces tours qui portent si haut dans les airs les éclatans attributs du Christianisme, cette croix de l'Evangile qui s'élance du sommet de tous les départemens de ce grand Empire: quel spectacle pour les regards de celui qui en descendant au tombeau n'avoit jamais vu la Religion que dans les antres des forêts et des déserts! Quels ravissemens, quels transports! Je crois l'entendre s'écrier, comme autrefois cet étranger, à la vue du camp du peuple de Dieu. *O Israël, que vos tentes sont belles! O Jacob, quel ordre, quelle majesté dans vos pavillons!* . . . .

Calmez donc, ah! calmez vos craintes, prêtres, ministres du Dieu de paix et de vérité: rougissez de vos exagérations incendiaires, et ne voyez plus notre ouvrage à travers vos passions. Nous ne vous demanderons pas de jurer contre la loi de votre cœur, mais nous vous demanderons au nom du Dieu saint qui doit nous juger tous, de ne pas confondre des opinions humaines et des traditions scholastiques, avec les règles inviolables et sacrées de l'Evangile. S'il est contraire

à la morale d'agir contre sa conscience, il ne l'est pas moins de se faire une conscience d'après des principes faux et arbitraires. L'obligation de faire sa conscience est antérieure à l'obligation de suivre sa conscience. Les plus grands malheurs publics ont été causés par des hommes qui ont cru obéir à Dieu et sauver leurs ames.

Et vous adorateurs de la Religion et de la patrie, Français, peuple fier, mais généreux, contemplez votre état passé et votre situation à venir. Qu'étoit la France, il y a peu de mois? Les sages y invoquoient la liberté et la liberté étoit sourde à la voix des sages. Les chrétiens éclairés demandoient où s'étoit réfugiée la Religion de leurs pères, et la vraie Religion de l'Evangile ne se retrouvoit nulle part. Nous étions une Nation sans patrie, un peuple sans gouvernement et une Eglise sans caractère et sans régime.....

Il n'y avoit de régulier et de stable parmi nous que la déflagration de tous les vices, que le scandale de toutes les injustices, que le mépris public du Ciel et des hommes, que l'extinction totale des derniers principes de la Religion et de la morale. Quel pays que celui où tout se trouvoit à la disposition absolue de quelques hommes sans frein, sans honneur, et sans lumières, et devant qui Dieu et le genre humain étoient comptés pour rien! Et quelle révolution que celle qui fait succéder tout-à-coup à ce désordre un spectacle où tout se place et s'ordonne selon l'ancien vœu

de la nature, et où l'on ne voit plus dissonner que la fureur impuissante de quelques ames incapables de s'élever à la hauteur d'un sentiment public, et faites pour rester dans la bassesse de leurs passions personnelles !

Français ! vous êtes les conquérans de votre liberté ; vous l'avez reproduite au sein de ce vaste Empire par les grands mouvemens de votre courage ; soyez-en maintenant les conservateurs par votre modération et votre sagesse. Répandez autour de vous l'esprit de patience et de raison, versez les consolations de la fraternité dans le sein de ceux de vos concitoyens à qui la révolution a imposé de douloureux sacrifices ; et n'oubliez jamais que si la régénération des Empires ne peut s'exécuter que par l'explosion de la force du peuple, elle ne peut non plus se maintenir que dans le recueillement des vertus et de la paix. Songez que le repos et le silence d'une nation victorieuse, de tant d'efforts et de complots, dirigés contre son bonheur et sa liberté, sont encore la plus redoutable des résistances à la tyrannie qui voudroit tenter de relever ses remparts, et que rien ne déconcerte plus efficacement les desseins des pervers que la tranquillité des grands cœurs.

[N°. 14.]

Extrait d'une Lettre de Mgr. l'Evêque d'Uzès à ses grands vicaires.

le 5 Janvier 1791.

LE jour d'hier sera fameux dans les fastes du Clergé de France. C'est le premier où j'aie reçu quelque consolation. si nous avions combattu pour la gloire nous pourrions dire que nous n'avons rien à désirer ; mais un intérêt d'une bien autre nature étoit confié à notre courage. Je ne suis pas sans espoir que cette journée ne sauve la Religion en France ; mais je suis sûr au moins qu'elle l'a glorifiée.

L'heure fatale étoit arrivée, l'expiration du délai nous a été annoncée, on a déliberé de nous interpeller, les uns après les autres, pour prêter le serment ; la fermeté la plus calme étoit notre contenance. L'Evêque d'Agen, appellé le premier, a dit quelques phrases d'une noblesse simple, franche, touchante, qui ont produit le plus grand effet. Un de ses Curés appellé après lui, a fait aussi une de ces réponses qui enfoncent la crainte dans l'ame des pervers et la honte dans celle des foibles. Alors l'effroi à gagné nos ennemis ; la confusion s'est mise au milieu d'eux ; ils ne savoient

quel parti prendre ; ils essayèrent de plates et ridicules séductions, en annonçant que l'intention de l'Assemblée n'avoit pas été de toucher au spirituel. Nous demandons que cette explication soit convertie en décret et la mauvaise foi se démasque par un refus.

Le tumulte et l'indécision de ces Messieurs allongent la séance et aucun ecclésiastique ne montre ni foiblesse ni inquiétude. Alors ils abandonnent la forme d'appel individuel, qui auroit prolongé leur tourment d'être témoins du triomphe de la vérité. Ils ont ordonné une interpellation générale à ceux qui n'avoient pas encore prêté le serment. Elle a été faite et personne ne s'est présenté. Enfin notre immuable fermeté les a forcés à leur grand regret à décréter contre nous ; et nous sommes sortis de cette séance, dépouillés de tout, mais fiers de notre glorieuse pauvreté.

Les deux ou trois cents brigands, employés dans ces occasions majeures, entouroient le dehors de la salle et y faisoient même retentir le cri, *à la lanterne*. Nous y avons souri dédaigneusement et nous avons demandé qu'on ne s'occupât point de ces vaines clameurs ; pas de vrai et bon peuple autour de la salle ; pas le moindre mouvement dans Paris contre nous ; et l'estime publique nous a suivis dans nos retraites.

Le Roi est prié de faire nommer à nos places. Il est à remarquer que ce décret, fait pour in-

troduire le schisme en France, s'il est exécuté, a été rendu sous la présidence d'un Juif et sur la motion d'un Protestant.

Je ne puis vous rendre mille détails qui seroient intéressans, mais le tems me manque. Voilà l'essentiel. Nous avons soutenu la première attaque d'une manière digne du devoir que nous avions à remplir. Nous soutiendrons de même toutes les épreuves, jusqu'à la dernière, la mort, si l'on ose y aller. Ce n'est pas de notre côté qu'est la crainte et l'indécision. Nous les laissons à ceux qui n'écoutent pas leur conscience et qui ne suivent pas les principes.

Nous pleurons sur quatre-vingt dix-huit de nos confrères trompés, ou entraînés, avant cette séance. C'est beaucoup, sur deux cents soixante-huit que nous sommes; mais une grande majorité nous reste. L'Evêque d'Autun est le seul Evêque qui ait prêté le serment. Nous ne comptons pas l'Evêque de Lydda étranger au clergé de France, et qui a mis à son serment des restrictions qu'on a laissé passer, parce qu'il siége du côté gauche.

Montrez ma lettre. Je ne crains jamais quand j'écris, parce que la vérité est mon guide; et il est essentiel qu'elle soit connue, cette fameuse séance.....

† H. DE BETHISY, Evêque d'Usès.

[N° 15.]

Projet de Discours, rédigé par les Ministres, et proposé au Roi, le 19 *Avril* 1791.

Je viens au milieu de vous avec la confiance que je vous ai toujours témoignée, vous parler des plus pressans intérêts de la Nation. Elle a besoin de respirer enfin à l'abri des loix, et de goûter les bienfaits de l'ordre et de la paix. Je viens vous inviter à resserrer plus étroitement que jamais l'union qui doit régner entre nous, et vous recommander le concours de volontés nécessaires à l'établissement de la constitution. Cette constitution, je l'ai acceptée, je l'ai jurée: je la maintiens. Le désordre en est l'ennemi; je dois le réprimer; sans doute vous redoublerez d'efforts pour m'aider dans cette grande entreprise. Les comptes qui me sont rendus chaque jour dans mon conseil, m'avertissent qu'il n'y a plus un moment à perdre: ce que j'ai vu hier ne m'a pas permis d'en douter. Ceux qui essaient de soulever un peuple fidèle, et dont j'ai mérité l'amour par ce que j'ai fait pour lui, cherchent à lui inspirer des doutes sur mes sentimens pour la révolution. Ma conduite toute entière dément assez leurs impostures, et je ne dévierai pas du chemin que je me suis tracé. Je respecte trop la constitution et la déclaration des droits qui en sont la base,

base, pour m'expliquer ici sur mes opinions religieuses. Nul citoyen n'en doit compte à personne, et j'ai la même liberté que les autres citoyens. Mais mon devoir est de maintenir la constitution dans tous ses points; et la constitution civile du Clergé en est une partie. Je remplirai exactement ce devoir, comme tous ceux que m'impose la royauté. Il est au nombre de ces devoirs de prouver à toute la Nation que je suis libre, et de ne pas laisser subsister à cet égard l'ombre du doute; rien n'est si important à la validité des sanctions et des acceptations que je donne aux décrets. C'est donc pour rendre ma liberté manifeste à tous les yeux que je ne crois pas devoir céder à la résistance qu'on a apportée hier à mon départ pour Saint-Cloud. Je n'ai pas voulu qu'on la vainquît par la force, parce que j'ai craint de provoquer des actes de rigueur contre une multitude trompée, et qui croit agir en faveur des loix, lorsqu'elle les enfreint toutes. Je persiste donc dans mon projet de voyage pour Saint-Cloud. Si l'on s'y opposoit encore, si les fonctionnaires publics ne parvenoient à vaincre cette opposition, je suis bien sûr que l'Assemblée nationale ne souffriroit pas sous ses yeux une atteinte à ma liberté et une infraction à la constitution.

J'ai voulu vous entretenir de mes intentions et de mes sentimens. Tous mes vœux sont, comme les vôtres, pour le bonheur du peuple, et

ce bonheur ne peut résulter que de l'observation des loix et de l'obéissance à toutes les autorités légitimes et constitutionnelles.

[N°. 16.]

Lettre adressée par M. DE MONTMORIN *à tous les Ambassadeurs.*

Le Roi me charge, Monsieur, de vous mander que son intention la plus formelle est que vous manifestiez ses sentimens sur la Révolution et sur la Constitution française, à la Cour où vous résidez. Les Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France près toutes les Cours de l'Europe, reçoivent les mêmes ordres, afin qu'il ne reste aucun doute ni sur les intentions de Sa Majesté, ni sur l'acceptation libre qu'elle a donnée à la nouvelle forme de gouvernement, ni sur son serment irrévocable de la maintenir. Sa Majesté avoit convoqué les Etats-Généraux de son Royaume, et déterminé dans son Conseil que les Communes y auroient un nombre de députés égal à celui des deux autres ordres qui existoient alors. Cet acte de législation provisoire, que les obstacles du moment ne permettoient pas de rendre plus favorable, annonçoit assez le desir de Sa Majesté de rétablir la Nation dans tous ses droits.

Les Etats-Généraux furent assemblés, et prirent le titre d'Assemblée nationale ; bientôt une constitution, propre à faire le bonheur de la France et du Monarque, remplaça l'ancien ordre de choses où la force apparente de la Royauté ne cachoit que la force réelle des abus de quelques Corps aristocratiques.

L'Assemblée nationale adopta la forme du gouvernement représentatif, joint à la Royauté héréditaire ; le Corps législatif fut déclaré permanent ; l'élection des ministres du culte, des administrateurs et des juges fut rendue au peuple ; on conféra le pouvoir exécutif au Roi, la formation de la loi au Corps législatif, et la sanction au Monarque ; la force publique, soit intérieure, soit extérieure, fut organisée sur les mêmes principes, et d'après la base fondamentale de la distinction des pouvoirs, telle est la nouvelle constitution du Royaume.

Ce que l'on appelle la Révolution, n'est que l'anéantissement d'une foule d'abus accumulés depuis des siècles par l'erreur du peuple, ou le pouvoir des ministres, qui n'a jamais été le pouvoir des Rois ; ces abus n'étoient pas moins funestes à la Nation qu'au Monarque ; ces abus, l'autorité, sous des règnes heureux, n'avoit cessé de les attaquer sans pouvoir les détruire, ils n'existent plus. La Nation souveraine n'a plus que des citoyens égaux en droits, plus de despote que la loi, plus d'organes que des fonctionnaires publics,

et le Roi est le premier de ces fonctionnaires; telle est la Révolution française.

Elle devoit avoir pour ennemis tous ceux qui, dans un premier moment d'erreur, ont regretté pour des avantages personnels, les abus de l'ancien gouvernement; de là, l'apparente division qui s'est manifestée dans le Royaume, et qui s'affoiblit chaque jour; de là, peut-être, quelques loix sévères et de circonstances que le temps corrigera; mais le Roi, dont la véritable force est indivisible de celle la Nation, qui n'a d'autre ambition que le bonheur du peuple, ni d'autre pouvoir réel que celui qui lui est délégué; le Roi a dû adopter, sans hésiter, une heureuse constitution qui régénéroit tout à la fois son autorité, la Nation et la Monarchie. On lui a conservé toute sa puissance, hors le pouvoir redoutable de faire des loix; il est resté chargé des négociations avec les puissances étrangères, du soin de défendre le Royaume, et d'en repousser les ennemis; mais la Nation française n'en aura plus désormais au dehors, que ses aggresseurs: elle n'a plus d'ennemis intérieurs, que ceux qui, se nourrissant encore de folles espérances, croiroient que la volonté de vingt-quatre millions d'hommes rentrés dans leurs droits naturels, après avoir organisé le Royaume de manière qu'il n'existe plus que des souvenirs des anciennes formes et des anciens abus, n'est pas une immuable, une irrévocable constitution.

Les plus dangereux de ces ennemis sont ceux qui ont affecté de répandre des doutes sur les intentions du Monarque; ces hommes sont bien coupables ou bien aveuglés; ils se croient les amis du Roi, ce sont les seuls ennemis de la Royauté; ils auroient privé le Monarque de l'amour et de la confiance d'une grande Nation, si ses principes et sa probité eussent été moins connus. Eh! que n'a pas fait le Roi, pour montrer qu'il comptoit aussi la Révolution et la Constitution françaises parmi ses titres à la gloire! Après avoir accepté et sanctionné toutes les loix, il n'a négligé aucun moyen de les faire exécuter; dès le mois de Février de l'année dernière, il avoit, dans le sein de l'Assemblée nationale, promis de les maintenir; il en a fait le serment au milieu de la fédération universelle du Royaume: honoré du titre de restaurateur de la Liberté française, il transmettra plus qu'une couronne à son fils, il lui transmettra une Royauté constitutionnelle.

Les ennemis de la constitution ne cessent de répéter que le Roi n'est pas heureux, comme s'il pouvoit exister pour un Roi d'autre bonheur que celui du peuple; ils disent que son autorité est avilie, comme si l'autorité, fondée sur la force, n'étoit pas moins puissante et plus incertaine que l'autorité de la loi; enfin que le Roi n'est pas libre, calomnie atroce, si l'on suppose que sa volonté a pu être forcée; absurde, si l'on prend pour défaut de liberté le consentement que Sa

Majesté a exprimé plusieurs fois de rester au milieu des citoyens de Paris: consentement qu'elle devoit accorder à leur patriotisme, même à leurs craintes, et sur-tout à leur amour.

Ces calomnies cependant ont pénétré jusques dans les Cours étrangères; elles y ont été répétées par des Français, qui se sont volontairement exilés de leur patrie, au lieu d'en partager la gloire, et qui, s'ils n'en sont pas les ennemis, ont au moins abandonné leur poste de citoyen. Le Roi vous charge, Monsieur, de déjouer leurs intrigues et leurs projets. Ces mêmes calomnies, en répandant les idées les plus fausses sur la révolution française, ont fait suspecter chez plusieurs nations voisines les intentions des voyageurs français; et le Roi vous recommande expressément de les protéger et de les défendre. Donnez, Monsieur, de la constitution française, l'idée que le Roi s'en forme lui-même; ne laissez aucun doute sur l'intention de Sa Majesté de la maintenir de tout son pouvoir. En assurant la liberté et l'égalité des citoyens, cette constitution fonde la prospérité nationale sur les bases les plus inébranlables; elle affermit l'autorité royale par les loix; elle prévient, par une révolution glorieuse, la révolution que les abus de l'ancien gouvernement auroient bientôt fait éclater, en causant, peut-être, la dissolution de l'Empire; elle fera le bonheur du Roi. Le soin de la justifier, de la

défendre et de la prendre pour règle de votre conduite doit être votre premier devoir.

Je vous ai déjà manifesté plusieurs fois les sentimens de Sa Majesté à cet égard; mais, d'après ce qui lui est revenu de l'opinion qu'on cherchoit à établir dans les pays étrangers, sur ce qui se passe en France, elle m'a ordonné de vous charger de notifier le contenu de cette lettre à la Cour où vous êtes; et, pour lui donner plus de publicité, Sa Majesté vient d'en ordonner l'impression.

Signé, MONTMORIN.

Le 23 Avril 1791.

[N°. 17.]

MÉMOIRE DU ROI,

Ou Déclaration de Sa Majesté, adressée à tous les Français à sa sortie de Paris.

TANT que le Roi a pu espérer de voir renaître l'ordre et le bonheur dans le Royaume, par les moyens employés par l'Assemblée nationale, dans la Capitale, aucun sacrifice personnel ne lui

a coûté ; il n'auroit pas même argué de la nullité dont le défaut absolu de liberté entache toutes les démarches qu'il a faites depuis le mois d'Octobre 1789, si cet espoir eût été rempli : mais aujourd'hui que la seule récompense de tant de sacrifices est de voir la destruction de la royauté, de voir tous les pouvoirs méconnus, les propriétés violées, la sûreté des personnes mise par-tout en danger, les crimes rester impunis, une anarchie complète s'établir au-dessus des lois, sans que l'apparence d'autorité que lui donne la nouvelle constitution, soit suffisante pour réparer un seul des maux qui affligent le royaume : le Roi, après avoir solennellement protesté contre tous les actes émanés de lui pendant sa captivité, croit devoir mettre sous les yeux des Français et de tout l'univers, le tableau de sa conduite, et celui du gouvernement qui s'est établi dans le Royaume.

" On a vu Sa Majesté, au mois de Juillet 1789, pour écarter tout sujet de défiance, renvoyer les troupes qu'elle n'avoit appellées auprès de sa personne, qu'après que les étincelles de révolte s'étoient déjà manifestées dans Paris et dans le régiment même de ses gardes. Le Roi, sûr de sa conscience et de la droiture de ses intentions, n'a pas craint de venir seul parmi les citoyens armés de la capitale.

" Au mois d'Octobre de la même année, le Roi, prévenu depuis long-tems des mouvemens que les factieux cherchoient à exciter, fut, dans

la journée du 5, averti assez à tems pour pouvoir se retirer ou il eût voulu ; mais il craignit qu'on ne se servît de cette démarche pour allumer la guerre civile : et il aima mieux se sacrifier personnellement, et ce qui étoit plus déchirant pour son cœur, mettre en danger la vie des personnes qui lui sont les plus chères. Tout le monde sait les évènemens de la nuit du 5 Octobre et l'impunité qui les couvre depuis près de deux ans : Dieu seul a empêché l'exécution des plus grands crimes, et a détourné de la Nation française une tache qui auroit été ineffaçable.

" Le Roi, cédant au vœu manifesté par l'armée des Parisiens, vint s'établir, avec sa famille, au château des Thuileries. Il y avoit plus de cent ans que les rois n'y avoient fait de résidence habituelle, excepté pendant la minorité de Louis XV. Rien n'étoit prêt pour recevoir le Roi, et la disposition des appartemens étoit bien loin de procurer les commodités auxquelles Sa Majesté étoit accoutumée dans les autres maisons royales, et dont tout particulier qui a de l'aisance peut jouir. Malgré la contrainte qui avoit été apportée, et les incommodités de tout genre qui suivirent le changement du séjour du Roi, fidèle au systême de sacrifices que Sa Majesté s'étoit fait pour procurer la tranquillité publique, elle crut, dès le lendemain de son arrivée à Paris, devoir rassurer les provinces sur son séjour dans la capitale, et inviter l'Assemblée nationale à se rap-

procher de lui, en venant continuer ses travaux dans la même ville.

" Mais un sacrifice plus pénible étoit réservé au cœur de Sa Majesté ; il fallut qu'on éloignât d'elle ses gardes-du-corps, de la fidélité desquels elle venoit d'avoir une preuve bien éclatante dans la matinée du 6. Deux avoient péri victimes de leur attachement pour le Roi et pour sa famille, et plusieurs encore avoient été blessés grièvement, en exécutant strictement les ordres du Roi, qui leur avoit défendu de tirer sur la multitude égarée. L'art des factieux a été bien grand pour faire envisager sous des couleurs si noires une troupe aussi fidelle, et qui venoit de mettre le comble à la bonne conduite qu'elle avoit toujours tenue. Mais ce n'étoit pas tant contre les gardes-du-corps que leurs intentions étoient dirigées, que contre le Roi lui-même ; on vouloit l'isoler entièrement, en le privant du service de ses gardes-du-corps, dont on avoit pas pu égarer les esprits, comme on avoit réussi auprès de ceux du régiment des Gardes-Françaises, qui, peu de tems auparavant, étoit le modèle de l'armée.

" C'est aux soldats de ce même régiment, devenus troupes soldées par la ville de Paris, et aux gardes nationaux de cette même ville, que la garde du Roi a été confiée. Ces troupes sont entièrement sous les ordres de la municipalité de Paris, dont le commandant général relève ; le

Roi, gardé ainsi, s'est vu par-là, prisonnier dans ses propres états; car, comment peut-on appeller autrement l'état d'un Roi qui ne commande que pour les choses de parade, à sa garde; qui ne nomme à aucune des places, et qui est obligé de se voir entouré de plusieurs personnes dont il connoît les mauvaises intentions pour lui et pour sa famille ? Ce n'est pas pour inculper la garde nationale parisienne et les troupes du centre, que le Roi relève ces faits, c'est pour faire connoître l'exacte vérité; et en la faisant connoître, il a rendu justice au zèle pour le bon ordre, et à l'attachement pour sa personne qu'en général cette troupe lui a montrés; lorsque les esprits ont été laissés à eux-mêmes, et qu'ils n'ont pas été égarés par les clameurs et les mensonges des factieux.

" Mais plus le Roi a fait de sacrifices pour le bonheur de ses peuples, plus les factieux ont travaillé pour en faire méconnoître le prix, et présenter la royauté sous les couleurs les plus fausses et les plus odieuses.

" La convocation des États-Généraux, le doublement des députés du Tiers-état, les peines que le Roi a prises pour applanir toutes les difficultés qui pouvoient retarder l'Assemblée des Etats-Généraux, et celles qui s'étoient élevées depuis leur ouverture, tous les retranchemens que le Roi avoit faits sur sa dépense personnelle, tous les sacrifices qu'il a faits à ses peuples dans

la séance du 23 Juin ; enfin la réunion des ordres, opérée par la manifestation du vœu du Roi, mesure que Sa Majesté jugea alors indispensable pour l'activité des Etats-Généraux ; tous ses soins, toutes ses peines, toute sa générosité, tout son dévouement pour son peuple, tout a été méconnu, tout a été dénaturé.

" Lorsque les États-Généraux s'étant donné le nom d'Assemblée nationale, ont commencé à s'occuper de la constitution du royaume, qu'on se rappelle les mémoires que les factieux ont eu l'adresse de faire venir de plusieurs provinces, et les mouvemens de Paris pour faire manquer les députés à une des clauses portées dans tous les cahiers, qui portoient que *la confection des loix se feroit de concert avec le Roi.* Au mépris de cette clause, l'Assemblée a mis le Roi tout-à-fait hors de la constitution, en lui refusant le droit d'accorder ou de refuser sa sanction aux articles qu'elle regarde comme constitutionnels, en se réservant le droit de ranger dans cette classe ceux qu'elle juge à propos, et en restreignant sur ceux reputés purement législatifs, la prérogative royale à un droit de suspension jusqu'à la troisième législature, droit purement illusoire, comme tant d'exemples ne le prouvent que trop.

" Que reste-t-il au Roi, que le vain simulacre de la royauté ? On lui a donné vingt-cinq millions pour la dépense de sa liste civile ; mais la splendeur de la maison qu'il doit entretenir pour faire

honneur à la dignité de la couronne de France, et les charges qu'on a rejettées dessus, même depuis l'époque où ces fonds ont été réglés, doivent en absorber la totalité.

" On lui a laissé l'usufruit de quelques-uns des domaines de la couronne, avec plusieurs formes gênantes pour leur jouissance. Ces domaines ne sont qu'une petite partie de ceux que les Rois ont possédés de toute ancienneté, et des patrimoines des ancêtres de Sa Majesté qu'ils ont réunis à la couronne. On ne craint pas d'avancer que, si tous ces objets étoient réunis, ils dépasseroient de beaucoup les sommes allouées pour l'entretien du Roi et de sa famille, et qu'alors il n'en coûteroit rien au peuple pour cette partie.

" Une remarque qui coûte à faire au Roi, est l'attention qu'on a eue de séparer dans les arrangemens sur la finance et sur toutes les autres parties, les services rendus au roi personnellement, ou à l'Etat, et que les services rendus à la personne du Roi ne l'étoient pas aussi à l'Etat.

" Qu'on examine ensuite les diverses parties du gouvernement. *La justice*; le Roi n'a aucune participation à la confection des loix; il a le simple droit d'empêcher jusqu'à la troisième législature, sur les objets qui ne sont pas réputés constitutionnels, et celui de prier l'Assemblée nationale de s'occuper de tels ou tels objets, sans avoir le droit d'en faire la proposition formelle.

La justice se rend au nom du Roi, les provisions des juges sont expédiées par lui ; mais ce n'est qu'une affaire de forme, et le Roi a seulement la nomination des commissaires du Roi, places nouvellement créées, qui n'ont qu'une partie des attributions des anciens procureurs-généraux, et sont seulement destinées à faire maintenir l'exécution des formes ; toute la partie publique est dévolue à un autre officier de justice. Ces places de commissaires sont à vie et non révocables, pendant que l'exercice de celles de juge ne doit durer que six années. Un des décrets de l'Assemblée vient de priver le Roi d'une des plus belles prérogatives attachées par-tout à la royauté, celle de faire grace et de commuer les peines. Quelque parfaites que soient les loix, il est impossible qu'elles prévoient tous les cas, et ce sera alors les jurés qui auront véritablement le droit de faire grace, en appliquant, suivant leur volonté, le sens de la loi. Combien d'ailleurs cette disposition ne diminue-t-elle pas la Majesté royale aux yeux des peuples, accoutumés depuis si long-tems à recourir au Roi dans leurs besoins et dans leurs peines, et à voir en lui le père commun qui pouvoit soulager leurs afflictions !

" L'*adminstration intérieure*. Elle est toute entière dans les mains des départemens, des districts et des municipalités, ressorts trop multipliés, qui nuisent au mouvement de la machine, et souvent peuvent se croiser. Tous ces Corps sont

élus par le peuple, et ne ressortissent du gouvernement, d'après les décrets, que pour leur exécution, ou pour celle des ordres particuliers qui en sont la suite. Ils n'ont, d'un côté, aucune grace à attendre du gouvernement; et de l'autre, la manière de punir ou de réprimer leurs fautes telle qu'elle est établie par les décrets, a des formes si compliquées, qu'il faudroit des cas bien extraordinaires pour pouvoir s'en servir: ce qui réduit à bien peu de chose la surveillance que les ministres doivent avoir sur eux. Ces Corps ont d'ailleurs acquis peu de force et de considération. Les sociétés des amis de la constitution (dont on parlera après) qui ne sont pas responsables, se trouvent bien plus fortes qu'eux; et par-là, l'action du gouvernement devient nulle. Depuis leur établissement, on a vu plusieurs exemples, que quelque bonne volonté qu'ils eussent pour maintenir le bon ordre, ils n'ont pas osé se servir des moyens que la loi leur donnoit, par la crainte du peuple, poussé par d'autres instigations.

"Les Corps électoraux, quoiqu'ils n'aient aucune action par eux-mêmes, et soient restreints aux élections, ont une force réelle par leur masse, par leur durée biennale, et par la crainte naturelle aux hommes, et sur-tout à ceux qui n'ont pas d'état fixe de déplaire à ceux qui peuvent servir ou nuire.

"La disposition des forces militaires est, par les décrets, dans la main du Roi. Il a été dé-

claré chef suprême de l'armée et de la marine ; mais tout le travail de formation de ces deux armées a été fait par les comités de l'Assemblée, sans la participation du Roi. Tout jusqu'au moindre réglement de discipline, a été fait par eux ; et il reste au Roi le tiers ou le quart des nominations, suivant les occasions ; ce droit devient à-peu-près illusoire, par les obstacles et les contrariétés sans nombre que chacun se permet contre les choix du Roi. On l'a vu obligé de refaire tout le travail des officiers-généraux de l'armée, parce que ces choix déplaisoient aux clubs. En cédant ainsi, Sa Majesté n'a pas voulu livrer d'honnêtes et braves militaires, et les exposer aux violences qui auroient sûrement été exercées contre eux, comme on n'en a vu que trop de fâcheux exemples. Les clubs et les Corps administratifs se mêlent des details intérieurs des troupes, qui doivent être absolument étrangers à ces derniers, qui n'ont que le droit de requérir la force publique, lorsqu'ils pensent qu'il y a lieu à l'employer. Ils se sont servis de ce droit, quelquefois même pour contrarier les dispositions du gouvernement sur la distribution des troupes : de manière qu'il est arrivé plusieurs fois qu'elles ne se trouvoient pas où elles devoient être. Ce n'est qu'aux clubs que l'on doit attribuer l'esprit de révolte contre les officiers et la discipline militaire, qui se répand dans beaucoup de régimens, et qui, si on n'y met ordre efficacement,

cement, sera la destruction de l'armée. Que devient une armée quand elle n'a plus ni chefs ni discipline ? Au lieu d'être la force et la sauve-garde d'un Etat, elle en devient la terreur et le fléau. Combien les soldats français, quand ils auront les yeux désillés, ne rougiront-ils pas de leur conduite, et ne prendront-ils pas en horreur ceux qui ont perverti le bon esprit qui régnoit dans l'armée et la marine française ? Funestes dispositions que celles qui ont encouragé les soldats et les marins à fréquenter les clubs ! Le Roi a toujours pensé que la loi doit être égale pour tous. Les officiers qui sont dans leur tort doivent être punis ; mais ils doivent l'être, comme les subalternes, suivant les dispositions établies par les loix et réglemens. Toutes les portes doivent être ouvertes pour que le mérite se montre et puisse avancer. Tout le bien-être qu'on peut donner aux soldats est juste et nécessaire ; mais il ne peut y avoir d'armée sans officiers et sans discipline, et il n'y en aura jamais, tant que les soldats se croiront en droit de juger la conduite de leurs chefs.

" *Affaires étrangères.* La nomination aux places de ministres dans les cours étrangères a été réservée au Roi, ainsi que la conduite des négociations, mais la liberté du Roi pour ces choix est tout aussi nulle que pour ceux des officiers de l'armée : on en a vu l'exemple à la dernière nomination. La révision et la confir-

mation des traités que s'est réservées l'Assemblée nationale, et la nomination d'un comité diplomatique, détruisent absolument la seconde disposition. Le droit de faire la guerre ne seroit qu'un droit illusoire, parce qu'il faudroit être insensé pour qu'un Roi qui n'est ni ne veut être despote, allât, de but en blanc, attaquer un autre Royaume, lorsque le vœu de sa nation s'y opposeroit, et qu'elle n'accorderoit aucun subside pour la soutenir. Mais le droit de faire la paix est d'un tout autre genre. Le Roi, qui ne fait qu'un avec toute la Nation, qui ne peut avoir d'autre intérêt que le sien, connoît ses droits, connoît ses besoins et ses ressources, et ne craint pas alors de prendre les engagemens qui lui paroissent propres à assurer son bonheur et sa tranquillité; mais quand il faudra que les conventions subissent la révision et la confirmation de l'Assemblée nationale, aucune puissance ne voudra prendre des engagemens qui peuvent être rompus par d'autres que par ceux avec qui elle contracte: et alors tous les pouvoirs se concentrent dans cette Assemblée. D'ailleurs, quelque franchise qu'on mette dans les négociations, est-il possible d'en confier le secret à une Assemblée dont les délibérations sont nécessairement publiques ?

" *Finances.* Le Roi avoit déclaré, bien avant la convocation des Etats-Généraux, qu'il reconnoissoit dans les Assemblées de la Nation le droit d'accorder des subsides; et qu'il ne vouloit plus

imposer les peuples sans leur consentement. Tous les cahiers des députés aux Etats-Généraux s'étoient accordés à mettre le rétablissement des finances au premier rang des objets dont cette Assemblée devoit s'occuper: quelques-uns y avoient mis des restrictions pour des articles à faire décider préalablement. Le Roi a levé les difficultés que ces restrictions auroient pu occasionner, en allant au-devant lui-même, et accordant dans la séance du 23 Juin, tout ce qui avoit été désiré. Le 4 Février 1790, le Roi a prié lui-même l'Assemblée de s'occuper efficacement d'un objet si important: elle ne s'en est occupée que tard, et d'une manière qui peut paroître imparfaite. Il n'y a point encore de tableau exactement fait des recettes et des dépenses, et des ressources qui peuvent combler le déficit: on s'est laissé aller à des calculs hypothétiques. L'Assemblée s'est pressée d'abolir les impôts dont la lourdeur, à la vérité, pesoit beaucoup sur les peuples, mais qui donnoient des ressources assurées; elle les a remplacés par un impôt presque unique, dont la levée exacte sera peut-être difficile. Les contributions ordinaires sont à présent très-arriérées, et la ressource extraordinaire des douze cents premiers millions d'assignats est presque consommée. Les dépenses des départemens de la guerre et de la marine, au lieu d'être diminuées, sont augmentées, sans y comprendre les dépenses que des armemens nécessaires ont

occasionnées dans le cours de la dernière année, pour l'administration de ce département : les rouages ont été fort multipliés, en confiant les recettes aux administrations de districts. Le Roi, qui le premier n'avoit pas craint de rendre publics les comptes de son administration des finances, et qui avoit montré la volonté que les comptes publics fussent établis comme une règle du gouvernement, a été rendu, si cela est possible, encore plus étranger à ce département qu'aux autres ; et les préventions, les jalousies et les récriminations contre le gouvernement, ont été encore plus répandues sur cet objet. Le réglement des fonds, le recouvrement des impositions, la répartition entre les départemens, les récompenses pour les services rendus, tout a été ôté à l'inspection du Roi : il ne lui reste que quelques serviles nominations, et pas même la distribution de quelques gratifications, pour secourir les indigens. Le Roi connoît les difficultés de cette administration ; et s'il étoit possible que la machine du gouvernement pût aller sans sa surveillance directe sur la gestion des finances, Sa Majesté ne regretteroit que de ne pouvoir plus concourir par elle-même à établir un ordre stable qui pût faire parvenir à la diminution des impositons (objet qu'on sait bien que Sa Majesté a toujours vivement désiré, et qu'elle eût pu effectuer sans les dépenses de la guerre de l'Amé-

rique), et de n'avoir plus la distribution de secours pour le soulagement des malheureux.

" Enfin par les décrets, le Roi a été déclaré chef suprême de l'administration du royaume. D'autres décrets subséquens ont réglé l'organisation du ministère de manière que le Roi, que cela doit regarder plus directement, ne peut pour tant rien y changer sans de nouvelles décisions de l'Assemblée. Le système des chefs du parti dominant a été si bien suivi, de jetter une telle méfiance sur tous les agens du gouvernement, qu'il devient presque impossible aujourd'hui de remplir les places de l'administration. Aucun gouvernement ne peut marcher ni subsister sans une confiance réciproque entre les administrateurs et les administrés; et les derniers réglemens proposés à l'Assemblée nationale sur les peines à infliger aux ministres ou agens du pouvoir exécutif, qui seroient prévaricateurs, ou seroient jugés avoir dépassé les limites de leur puissance, doivent faire naître toutes sortes d'inquiétudes: ces dispositions pénales s'étendent même jusqu'aux subalternes, ce qui détruit toute subordination, les inférieurs ne devant jamais juger les ordres des supérieurs, qui sont responsables de ce qu'ils commandent. Ces réglemens, pour la multiplicité des précautions et des genres de délits qui y sont indiqués, ne tendent qu'à inspirer de la méfiance, au lieu de la confiance qui seroit si nécessaire.

" Cette forme de gouvernement, si vicieuse en elle-même, le devient encore plus par ses conséquences.

" 1°. L'Assemblée par le moyen de ses comités, excède à tout moment les bornes qu'elle s'est prescrites; elle s'occupe d'affaires qui tiennent uniquement à l'administration intérieure du Royaume et à celle de la justice, et cumule ainsi tous les pouvoirs : elle exerce même par son comité des recherches un véritable despotisme plus barbare et plus insupportable qu'aucun de ceux dont l'histoire ait jamais fait mention. 2°. Il s'est établi dans presque toutes les villes et même dans plusieurs bourgs et villages du Royaume, des associations connues sous le nom des amis de la constitution : contre la teneur des décrets, elles n'en souffrent aucune qui ne soit affiliée avec elles; ce qui forme une immense corporation plus dangereuse qu'aucune de celles qui existoient auparavant. Sans y être autorisées, mais même au mépris de tous les décrets, elles délibèrent sur toutes les parties du gouvernement, correspondent entre elles sur tous les objets, font et reçoivent des dénonciations, affichent des arrêtés, et ont pris une telle prépondérance, que tous les corps administratifs et judiciaires, sans en excepter l'Assemblée nationale elle-même, obéissent presque tous à leurs ordres.

" Le Roi ne pense pas qu'il soit possible de gouverner un Royaume d'une si grande étendue

et d'une si grande importance que la France, par les moyens établis par l'Assemblée nationale, tels qu'ils existent à présent. Sa Majesté, en accordant à tous les décrets indistinctement une sanction qu'elle savoit bien ne pas pouvoir refuser, y a été déterminée par le désir d'éviter toute discussion que l'expérience lui avoit appris être au moins inutile; elle craignoit de plus qu'on ne pensât qu'elle voulût retarder ou faire manquer les travaux de l'Assemblée nationale, à la réussite desquels la Nation prenoit un si grand intérêt: elle mettoit sa confiance dans les gens sages de cette Assemblée qui reconnoissoient qu'il est plus aisé de détruire un gouvernement, que d'en construire un sur des bases toutes différentes. Ils avoient plusieurs fois senti la nécessité, lors de la révision annoncée des décrets, de donner une force d'action et de réaction nécessaire à tout gouvernement: ils reconnoissoient aussi l'utilité, d'inspirer pour ce gouvernement et pour les loix qui doivent assurer la prospérité et l'état de chacun, une confiance telle qu'elle ramenât dans le Royaume tous les citoyens que le mécontentement dans quelques-uns, et dans la plupart la crainte pour leur vie ou pour leurs propriétés, ont forcé de s'expatrier.

" Mais plus on voit l'Assemblée s'approcher du terme de ses travaux, plus on voit les gens sages perdre leur crédit, plus les dispositions qui ne peuvent mettre que de la difficulté, et même

de l'impossibilité, dans la conduite du gouvernement, et inspirer pour lui de la méfiance et de la fureur, augmentent tous les jours; les autres réglemens, au lieu de jetter un baume salutaire sur les plaies qui saignent encore dans plusieurs provinces, ne font qu'accroître les inquiétudes et aigrir les mécontentemens. L'esprit des clubs domine et envahit tout: les mille journaux et pamphlets calomniateurs, incendiaires, qui se répandent journellement, ne sont que leurs échos, et préparent les esprits de la manière dont ils veulent les conduire; jamais l'Assemblée nationale n'a osé remédier à cette licence, bien éloignée d'une vraie liberté; elle a perdu son crédit, et même la force dont elle auroit besoin pour revenir sur ses pas, et changer ce qui lui paroîtroit bon à être corrigé. On voit par l'esprit qui règne dans les clubs et la manière dont ils s'emparent des nouvelles assemblées primaires, ce qu'on doit attendre d'eux; et s'ils laissent appercevoir quelques dispositions à revenir sur quelque chose, c'est pour détruire les restes de la royauté et établir un gouvernement métaphysique et philosophique, impossible dans son exécution.

« Français, est-ce là ce que vous entendiez en envoyant des représentans à l'Assemblée nationale? Désiriez-vous que l'anarchie et le despotisme des clubs remplaçassent le gouvernement monarchique, sous lequel la Nation a prospéré pendant quatorze cents ans? Désiriez-vous voir

votre Roi comblé d'outrages et privé de sa liberté, pendant qu'il ne s'occupoit que d'établir la vôtre?

" L'amour pour leurs Rois est une des vertus des Français, et Sa Majesté en a reçu personnellement des marques trop touchantes pour pouvoir jamais les oublier. Les factieux sentoient bien que tant que cet amour subsisteroit, leur ouvrage ne pourroit jamais s'achever; ils sentoient également que pour l'affoiblir, il falloit, s'il étoit possible, anéantir le respect qui l'a toujours accompagné, et c'est la source des outrages que le Roi a reçus depuis deux ans, et de tous les maux qu'il a soufferts. Sa Majesté n'en traceroit pas ici l'affligeant tableau, si elle ne vouloit faire connoître à ses fidèles sujets l'esprit de ces factieux qui déchirent le sein de leur patrie, en feignant de vouloir la régénérer.

" Ils profitèrent d'abord de l'espèce d'enthousiasme où l'on étoit pour M. Necker, pour lui procurer, sous les yeux même du Roi, un triomphe d'autant plus éclatant, que dans le même instant les gens qu'ils avoient soudoyés pour cela, affectèrent de ne faire aucune attention à la présence du Roi. Enhardis par ce premier essai, ils osèrent, dès le lendemain à Versailles, faire insulter Mr. l'Archevêque de Paris, le poursuivre à coups de pierres, et mettre sa vie dans le plus grand danger. Lorsque l'insurrection éclata dans Paris un courier que le Roi avoit envoyé, fut arrêté publiquement, fouillé, et les let-

tres du Roi même furent ouvertes. Pendant ce tems l'Assemblée nationale sembloit insulter à la douleur de Sa Majesté, en ne s'occupant qu'à combler de marques d'estime ces mêmes ministres dont le renvoi a servi de prétexte à l'insurrection, et que depuis elle n'a pas mieux traités, pour cela. Le roi s'étant déterminé à aller porter lui-même des paroles de paix dans la capitale, des gens apostés sur la route eurent grand soin d'empêcher ces cris de *vive le Roi*, si naturels aux Français; et les harangues qu'on lui fit, loin de porter l'expression de la reconnoissance, ne furent remplies que d'une ironie amère.

" Cependant l'on accoutumoit de plus en plus le peuple au mépris de la royauté et des loix: celui de Versailles essayoit de pendre deux housards à la grille du château, arrachoit un parricide au supplice, s'opposoit à l'envoi d'un détachement de chasseurs, destinés à maintenir le bon ordre, tandis qu'un énergumène faisoit publiquement au Palais-Royal la motion de venir enlever le Roi et son fils, de les garder à Paris, et d'enfermer la Reine dans un couvent, et que cette motion, au lieu d'être rejettée avec l'indignation qu'elle auroit dû exciter, étoit applaudie. L'Assemblée, de son côté, non contente de dégrader la royauté, par ses décrets, affectoit même du mépris pour la personne du Roi, et recevoit d'une manière impossible à qualifier convenablement,

les observations du Roi sur les décrets de la nuit des 4 et 5 Août.

" Enfin arrivèrent les journées des 5 et 6 Octobre ; le récit en seroit superflu, et Sa Majesté l'épargne à ses fidèles sujets, mais elle ne peut pas s'empêcher de faire remarquer la conduite de l'Assemblée pendant ces horribles scènes. Loin de songer à les prévenir ou du moins à les arrêter, elle resta tranquille, et se contenta de répondre à la motion de se transporter en corps chez le Roi, que cela n'étoit pas de sa dignité.

" Depuis ce moment, presque tous les jours ont été marqués par de nouvelles scènes plus affligeantes les unes que les autres pour le Roi, ou par de nouvelles insultes qui lui ont été faites. A peine le Roi étoit-il aux Tuileries, qu'un innocent fut masacré et sa tête promenée dans Paris, presque sous les yeux du Roi. Dans plusieurs provinces ceux qui paroissoient attachés au Roi ou à sa personne, ont été persécutés ; plusieurs même ont perdu la vie, sans qu'il ait été possible au Roi de faire punir les assasins, ou même d'en témoigner sa sensibilité. Dans le jardin même des Tuileries, tous les députés qui ont parlé contre la royauté ou contre la Religion (car les factieux, dans leur rage, n'ont pas plus respecté l'Autel que le Trône), ont reçu les honneurs du triomphe, pendant que ceux qui pensent différemment, y sont à tout moment insultés, et leur vie même est continuellement menacée.

" A la fédération du 14 Juillet 1790, l'Assemblée, en nommant le Roi, par un décret spécial, pour en être le chef, s'est montrée par-là penser qu'elle auroit pu en nommer un autre. A cette même cérémonie, malgré la demande du Roi, la famille royale a été placée dans un endroit séparé de celui qu'il occupoit: chose inouie jusqu'à présent. (C'est pendant cette fédération que le Roi a passé les momens les plus doux de son séjour à Paris. Il s'arrête avec complaisance sur le souvenir des témoignages d'attachement et d'amour que lui ont donnés les gardes nationaux de toute la France, rassemblés pour cette cérémonie).

" Les ministres du Roi, ces mêmes ministres que l'Assemblée avoit forcé le Roi de rappeller, ou dont elle avoit applaudi la nomination, ont été contraints, à force d'insultes et de menaces, à quitter leurs places, excepté un.

" Mesdames, tantes du Roi, et qui étoient restées constamment près de lui, déterminées par un motif de religion, ayant voulu se rendre à Rome, les factieux n'ont pas voulu leur laisser même la liberté qui appartient à toute personne, et qui est établie par la déclaration des droits de l'homme. Une troupe, poussée par eux, s'est portée vers Bellevue pour arrêter Mesdames. Le coup ayant été manqué par leur prompt départ, les factieux ne se sont pas déconcertés ; ils se sont portés chez MONSIEUR, sous prétexte qu'il

vouloit suivre Mesdames ; et quoiqu'ils n'aient recueilli de cette démarche que le plaisir de lui faire une insulte, elle n'a pas eté tout-à-fait perdue pour leur système. Cependant, n'ayant pu faire arrêter Mesdames à Bellevue, ils ont trouvé le moyen de les faire arrêter à Arnai-le-Duc ; et il a fallu des ordres de l'Assemblée nationale pour leur laisser continuer leur route, ceux du Roi ayant été méprisés.

" A peine la nouvelle de cette arrestation fut-elle arrivée à Paris, qu'ils ont essayé de faire approuver par l'Assemblée nationale, cette violation de liberté ; mais leur coup ayant été manqué, ils ont éxcité un soulèvement pour contraindre le Roi à faire revenir Mesdames ; mais la bonne conduite de la garde nationale (dont le Roi s'est empressé de témoigner sa satisfaction) ayant dissipé l'attroupement, ils eurent recours à d'autres moyens. Il ne leur avoit pas été difficile d'observer qu'au moindre mouvement qui se faisoit sentir, une grande quantité de fidèles sujets se rendoient aux tribunes des Tuileries, et formoient un espèce de bataillon capable d'en imposer aux mal-intentionnés ; ils excitèrent une émeute à Vincennes, et firent courir à dessein, le bruit qu'on se serviroit de cette occasion pour se porter aux Tuileries, afin que les défenseurs du Roi pussent se rassembler comme ils l'avoient déjà fait, et qu'on pût dénaturer leurs intentions aux yeux de la garde nationale, en leur prêtant le projet des for-

faits même contre lesquels ils s'armoient. Ils réussirent si bien à aigrir les esprits, que le Roi eut la douleur de voir maltraiter sous ses yeux, sans pouvoir les défendre, ceux qui lui donnoient les plus touchantes preuves de leur attachement. Ce fut en vain que Sa Majesté leur demanda elle-même les armes qu'on avoit rendues suspectes. Ce fut en vain qu'ils lui donnèrent cette dernière marque de leur dévouement; rien ne put retenir ces esprits égarés, qui poussèrent l'audace jusqu'à se faire livrer, et briser même ces armes, dont le Roi s'étoit rendu dépositaire.

" Cependant le Roi, après avoir été malade, se disposoit à profiter des beaux jours du printems pour aller à Saint-Cloud, comme il y avoit été, l'année dernière, une partie de l'été et de l'automne. Comme ce voyage tomboit dans la Semaine-Sainte, on osa se servir de l'attachement connu du Roi pour la Religion de ses pères, pour animer les esprits contre lui; et dès le Dimanche au soir, le club des cordeliers fit afficher un arrête, dans lequel le Roi lui même étoit dénoncé comme réfractaire à la loi. Le lendemain, Sa Majesté monte en voiture, pour partir; mais arrivée aux Tuileries, une foule de peuple parut vouloir s'opposer à son passage; et c'est avec bien de la peine qu'on doit dire ici, que la garde nationale, loin de réprimer les séditieux, se joignit à eux, et arrêta elle-même les chevaux. En vain Mr.

de la Fayette fit-il tout ce qu'il put pour faire comprendre à cette garde l'horreur de la conduite quelle tenoit, rien ne put réussir; les discours les plus insolens, les motions les plus abominables retentissoient aux oreilles de Sa Majesté; les personnes de sa maison qui se trouvoient là, s'empressèrent de lui faire un rempart de leur corps, si les intentions qu'on ne manifestoit que trop, venoient à s'exécuter; mais il falloit que le Roi bût le calice jusqu'à la lie; ses fidèles serviteurs lui furent arrachés avec violence; enfin, après avoir enduré pendant une heure trois quarts tous ces outrages, Sa Majesté fut contrainte de rester dans sa prison; car, après cela, on ne sauroit appeler cela un palais. Son premier soin fut d'envoyer chercher le directoire du département, chargé par état de veiller à la tranquilité et à la sûreté publique, et de l'instruire de ce qui venoit de se passer. Le lendemain, S. M. rendit elle-même à l'Assemblée nationale pour lui faire sentir combien cet évènement étoit contraire même à la nouvelle constitution; de nouvelles insultes furent le fruit que le Roi retira de ces démarches. Il fut obligé de consentir à l'éloignement de sa chapelle et de la plupart de ses grands officiers, et d'approuver la lettre que son ministre a écrite en son nom aux cours étrangères; enfin d'assister, le jour de Pâques, à la Messe du nouveau curé de St. Germain-l'Auxerrois.

" D'après tous ces motifs de l'impossibilité où

le Roi se trouve d'opérer le bien, et d'empêcher le mal qui se commet, est-il étonnant que le Roi ait cherché à recouvrer sa liberté et à se mettre en sûreté avec sa famille ?

Français, et vous sur-tout Parisiens, vous habitans d'une ville que les ancêtres de Sa Majesté se plaisoient à appeler *leur bonne ville de Paris*, méfiez-vous des suggestions et des mensonges de vos faux amis ; revenez à votre Roi ; il sera toujours votre père, votre meilleur ami ; quel plaisir n'aura-t-il pas à oublier toutes ses injures personnelles, et de se voir au milieu de vous, lorsqu'une constitution, qu'il aura acceptée librement, fera que notre sainte Religion sera respectée, que le gouvernement sera établi sur un pied stable, et que par son action, les biens et l'état de chacun ne seront plus troublés, que les loix ne seront plus enfreintes impunément, et qu'enfin la liberté sera posée sur des bases fermes et inébranlables. "

Signé, LOUIS.

A Paris, le 20 Juin 1791.

" Le Roi défend à ses ministres de signer aucun ordre en son nom, jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient reçu ses ordres ultérieurs ; il enjoint à son garde du sceau de l'État, de le lui renvoyer d'abord qu'il en sera requis de sa part. "

Signé, LOUIS.

A Paris, le 20 Juin 1791.

No 18.

[N°. 18.]

Adresse de l'Assemblée nationale aux Français, à l'occasion du départ du Roi, et en réponse à la déclaration de Sa Majesté.

Le 23 Juin 1791.

" Un grand attentat vient de se commettre.... L'Assemblée nationale touchoit au terme de ses longs travaux; la Constitution étoit finie; les orages de la révolution alloient cesser, et les ennemis du bien public ont voulu, par un seul forfait, immoler la Nation entière à leur vengeance. Le Roi et la Famillle royale ont été enlevés dans la nuit du 20 au 21 de ce mois.

" Vos Représentans triompheront de cet obstacle, ils mesureront l'étendue des devoirs qui leur sont imposés. La liberté publique sera maintenue; les conspirateurs et les esclaves apprendront à connoître l'intrépidité des fondateurs de la liberté française, et nous prenons à la face de la Nation, l'engagement solennel de venger la loi ou de mourir. "

" La France veut être libre, et elle sera libre. On cherche à faire rétrograder la révolution, la révolution ne rétrogradera point. Français, telle est votre volonté: elle sera accomplie. "

" Il s'agissoit d'abord d'appliquer la loi à la

position momentanée où se trouve le royaume. Le Roi, dans la Constitution, exerce les fonctions royales du refus ou de la sanction, sur les décrets du Corps législatif; il est en outre chef du pouvoir exécutif; et en cette dernière qualité, il fait exécuter la loi par des ministres responsables. Si le premier des fonctionnaires publics déserte son poste, ou est enlevé malgré lui, les Représentans de la Nation revêtus de tous les pouvoirs nécessaires au salut de l'État et à l'activité du gouvernement, ont le droit d'y suppléer. En prononçant que l'apposition du sceau de l'État, et la signature du ministre de la justice, donneront aux décrets le caractère et l'autorité de la loi, l'Assemblée nationale *constituante* a exercé un droit incontestable. Sous le second rapport il n'étoit pas moins facile de trouver un supplément. En effet, aucun ordre du Roi ne pouvant être exécuté, s'il n'est contresigné par les ministres, qui, en demeurent responsables, il a suffi d'une simple déclaration qui ordonnât provisoirement aux ministres d'agir sous leur responsabilité, sans la signature du Roi.

" Après avoir pourvu aux moyens de compléter et de faire exécuter la loi, les dangers de la crise sont écartés à l'égard de l'intérieur du royaume. Contre les attaques du dehors on vient de donner à l'armée un premier renfort de quatre cents mille gardes nationales. Au dedans et au dehors, la France a donc toutes sortes de motifs

de sécurité, si les esprits ne se laissent point frapper d'étonnement, s'ils gardent de la modération. L'Assemblée nationale constituante est en place. Tous les pouvoirs publics établis par la constitution sont en activité; le patriotisme des citoyens de Paris, sa garde nationale, dont le zèle est au dessus de tout éloge, veillent au tour de vos Représentans. Les citoyens actifs du royaume entier sont enrôlés, et la France peut attendre ses ennemis. "

" Faut-il craindre les suites d'un écrit arraché avant le départ de ce Roi séduit, que nous ne croirons inexcusable qu'à la dernière extrémité? On conçoit à peine l'ignorance et les prétentions de ceux qui l'ont dicté; il sera discuté par la suite avec plus d'étendue, si vos intérêts l'exigent; mais il est de notre devoir d'en donner ici une idée. "

" L'Assemblée nationale a fait une proclamation solennelle des vérités politiques; elle a retrouvé, ou plutôt elle a rétabli les droits sacrés du genre humain; et cet écrit présente de nouveau la théorie de l'esclavage! "

" Français! on y rappelle cette journée du 23 Juin, où le chef du pouvoir exécutif, où le premier des fonctionnaires publics osa dicter ses volontés absolues à vos Représentans, chargés par vos ordres de refaire la constitution du royaume. "

" On ne craint pas d'y parler de cette armée

qui menaçoit l'Assemblée nationale au mois de Juillet; on ose se faire un mérite de l'avoir éloignée des délibérations de vos Représentans. "

" L'Assemblée nationale a gémi des évènemens du 6 Octobre. Elle a ordonné la poursuite des coupables; et parce qu'il est difficile de retrouver quelques brigands au milieu de l'insurrection de tout un peuple, on lui reproche de les laisser impunis! On se garde bien de raconter les outrages qui provoquèrent ces désordres. La Nation étoit plus juste et plus généreuse, elle ne reprochoit plus au Roi les violences exercées sous son règne, et sous le règne de ses ayeux. "

" On ose y rappeller la fédération du 14 Juillet de l'année dernière. Qu'en est-il resté dans la mémoire des auteurs de cet écrit? C'est que le premier fonctionnaire public n'étoit placé qu'à la tête des Représentans de la Nation. Au milieu de tous les députés, des gardes nationales, et des troupes de ligne du Royaume, il y prononça un serment solennel; et c'est là ce qu'on oublie, le serment du Roi fut libre; car il dit lui-même, que, *c'est pendant la fédération qu'il a passé les momens les plus doux de son séjour à Paris; qu'il s'arrête avec complaisance sur le souvenir des témoignages d'attachement et d'amour que lui ont donné les gardes nationaux de toute la France.* Si un jour le Roi ne déclaroit pas que des factieux l'ont entraîné, on auroit dénoncé son parjure au monde entier. "

" Est-il besoin de parcourir tant d'autres reproches si mal fondés? On diroit que les peuples sont faits pour les Rois, et que la clémence est l'unique devoir de ceux-ci; qu'une grande Nation doit se régénérer sans aucune agitation, sans troubler un moment les plaisirs des Rois et de leur Cour; quelques désordres ont accompagné la révolution; mais l'ancien despotisme doit-il se plaindre des maux qu'il avoit faits? et convient-il de s'étonner que le peuple n'ait pas toujours gardé la mesure, en dissipant cet amas de corruption formé pendant des siècles par les crimes du pouvoir absolu? "

" Des adresses de félicitations et de remercimens sont arrivées de toutes les parties du royaume; on dit que c'est l'ouvrage des factieux, oui sans doute de vingt-quatre millions de factieux. "

" Il falloit reconstituer tous les pouvoirs; par ce que tout étoit corrompu, parce qu'une dette effrayante, accumulée par l'impéritie et les désordres du gouvernement alloit précipiter la Nation dans un abîme. On nous reproche de n'avoir pas soumis la constitution au refus du Roi; mais la royauté n'est établie que pour le peuple, et si les grandes nations sont obligées de la maintenir, c'est parce qu'elle est la sauve-garde de leur bonheur. La constitution lui laisse sa prérogative et son véritable caractère. Vos Représentans seroient criminels, s'ils avoient sacrifié

vingt-quatre millions de citoyens à l'intérêt d'un seul homme."

"Le travail des peuples alimente le trésor de l'État; c'est un dépôt sacré. Le premier symptôme de l'esclavage est de ne voir dans les contributions publiques, qu'une dette envers le despotisme. La France devoit être, sur ce point, plus sévère qu'aucune autre nation. On a réglé l'emploi des contributions d'après la stricte justice. On a pourvu avec munificence aux dépenses du Roi; par une condescendance de l'Assemblée nationale, il en a lui-même fixé la somme; et près de 30 millions accordés à la liste civile, sont présentés comme une somme trop modique."

"Le décret sur la guerre et la paix ôte au Roi et à ses ministres le droit de dévouer les peuples au carnage, selon le caprice ou les calculs de la Cour; Et l'on paroît le regretter! Des traités désastreux ont tour à tour sacrifié le territoire de l'Empire français, les trésors de l'État, et l'industrie des citoyens. Le Corps législatif connoîtra mieux les intérêts de la Nation, et l'on nous reproche de lui avoir conservé la révision et la confirmation des traités! Quoi donc! N'avez-vous pas fait une assez longue expérience des erreurs du gouvernement?"

"Sous l'ancien régime l'avancement et la discipline des soldats et des officiers de terre et de mer étoient abandonnés au caprice du ministère,

L'Assemblée nationale, occupée de leur bonheur, leur a restitué des droits qui leur appartiennent; l'autorité royale n'aura plus que le tiers ou le quart des places à donner, et l'on ne trouve point cette part suffisante! '

" On attaque votre ordre judiciaire, sans songer que le Roi d'un grand peuple ne doit se mêler de l'administration de la justice que pour faire observer les loix et exécuter les jugemens. On veut exciter des regrets sur le droit de faire grace et de commuer les peines, et cependant tout le monde sait comment ce droit est exercé, et sur qui les monarques répandent de pareilles faveurs."

" Se plaindre de ne pouvoir plus ordonner toutes les parties de l'Administration, c'est revendiquer le despotisme ministeriel. Certes le Roi ne pouvoit l'exercer lui-même. On a laissé au peuple le choix de ses administrateurs; mais ces même administrateurs sont sous l'autorité du Roi, en tout ce qui ne concerne pas la répartition de l'impôt; il peut sous la responsabilité de ses ministres, annuller leurs actes irréguliers, les suspendre de leurs fonctions. "

" Les pouvoirs une fois répartis, le corps législatif, comme tout autre pouvoir public, ne pourra sortir des bornes qui lui sont assignées. Au défaut des ministres, l'impérieuse nécessité a forcé quelquefois l'Assemblée nationale à se mêler malgré elle de l'administration. Ce n'est pas au gouvernement à le lui reprocher. On doit le

dire, il n'inspiroit plus de confiance, et tandis que tous les Français se portoient vers le Corps législatif comme centre d'action, l'Assemblée ne s'est jamais occupée sur ce point, que des dispositions nécessaires au maintien de la liberté. Devoit-elle conserver de la confiance ? Vous pouvez en juger d'après le départ du Roi. "

" La faction qui à la suite de ce départ a tracé la longue liste de reproches auxquels il sera si facile de répondre, s'est démasquée elle-même. Des imputations souvent renouvellées en décèlent la source. On se plaint de la complication du nouveau régime, et par une contradiction sensible, on se plaint en même tems de la durée biennale des fonctions des électeurs. On reproche amèrement aux sociétés des amis de la constitution cet amour ardent de la liberté qui a tant servi la révolution et qui peut être si utile encore, si dans les circonstances actuelles il est dirigé par un patriotisme tout à la fois prudent et éclairé. "

" Faut-il parler enfin de cette insinuation relative à la Religion catholique ? L'Assemblée nationale, vous le savez, n'a fait qu'user des droits de la puissance civile ; elle a rétabli la pureté des premiers siècles chrétiens, et ce ne sont pas les intérêts du Ciel qui dictent ce reproche. "

" Français ! l'absence du Roi n'arrêtera point l'activité du gouvernement, et un seul danger réel vous menace. Vous avez à vous prémunir

contre la suspension des travaux de l'industrie, du paiement des contributions publiques, contre cette agitation sans mesure, qui, bouleverseroit l'Etat par excès de patriotisme, où l'instigation de nos ennemis, commenceroit par l'anarchie, et finiroit par la guerre civile. "

" C'est sur ce danger que l'Assemblée nationale appelle la sollicitude de tous les bons citoyens; c'est ce malheur véritable qu'il faut éviter. Vos représentans vous exhortent au nom de la patrie, au nom de la liberté, à ne pas le perdre de vue. Dans les momens de crise il est nécessaire de développer un grand caractère; c'est alors que les haines privées et les intérêts particuliers doivent disparoître, le peuple qui vient de reconquérir sa liberté, doit sur-tout montrer cette fermeté tranquille qui doit faire pâlir les tyrans. "

" Le grand, presque l'unique intérêt qui doive nous occuper particulièrement jusqu'à l'époque très-prochaine où l'Assemblée nationale aura pris une résolution définitive, c'est le maintien de l'ordre. L'ordre peut exister par-tout où il existe un centre d'autorité; il se trouve dans l'Assemblée de vos représentans. Il suffira provisoirement, si la voix des citoyens prononce avec énergie l'obligation de respecter la loi; si la force publique de l'armée, des gardes nationales, et de tous les Français en appuie l'exécution. Nous gémirons des malheurs de notre Roi; nous appellerons la vengeance des loix sur ceux qui l'ont entraîné

loin de son poste ; mais l'empire ne sera point ébranlé ; l'activité de l'administration et de la justice ne sera point ralentie. Ralliez-vous donc sur ce point, auquel le salut de la France est attaché ; surveillez ces hommes qui ne voient dans les calamités publiques qu'une occasion favorable à leur brigandage. Unissez vos efforts pour empêcher les violences, pour assurer les contributions, et la libre circulation des subsistances, pour maintenir la sûreté des personnes et de toutes les propriétés. Montrez la loi aux coupables ; fortifiez les autorités constitutionnelles de toute la puissance de la volonté générale ; que les factieux qui demandent le sang de leurs concitoyens voient l'ordre se maintenir au milieu des orages, la constitution s'affermir et devenir plus chère aux Français par les coups qu'ils lui portent ; qu'enfin les dangers qui vous étoient réservés, n'atteignent que les ennemis de votre bonheur. La capitale peut servir de modèle au reste de la France ; le départ du Roi n'a point causé d'agitation ; et, ce qui fait le désespoir de nos ennemis, elle jouit d'une tranquillité parfaite. "

" Il est envers les grandes nations des attentats que la générosité seule peut faire oublier. Le peuple français étoit fier dans la servitude ; il montre les vertus et l'héroïsme de la liberté, que les ennemis de la constitution le sachent ; pour asservir de nouveau le territoire de cet em-

pire, il faudroit anéantir la Nation. Le despotisme formera, s'il le veut, une pareille entreprise, il sera vaincu; ou, à la suite de son affreux triomphe, il ne trouvera que des ruines. "

Signés, Alexandre BEAUHARNAIS, *président*; MAURIET, REGNIER, LE CARLIER, FRICAUD, GRENOT, MERLE *Secrétaires*.

[N°. 19.]

Extrait du Récit fait par DROUET *à l'Assemblée dans la séance du 24 Juin* 1791.

Je suis maître de poste à Sainte-Menehould, ancien dragon au régiment de Condé; mon camarade Guillaume est un ancien dragon au régiment de la Reine. Le 21 Juin, à 7 heures et demie du soir, deux voitures et onze chevaux relaièrent à la poste de Sainte-Menehould. Je crus reconnoître la Reine, et appercevant un homme dans le fond de la voiture à gauche, je fus frappé de la ressemblance de sa phisionomie avec l'effigie d'un assignat de 50 livres. Ces voitures étant couduites par un détachement de dragons, lequel succédoit à un détachement de hussards, sous le prétexte de protéger un trésor, cette escorte me confirma dans mes soupçons, sur-tout lorsque je vis le commandant de ce détachement parler d'un air très-animé à l'un des

couriers. Cependant, craignant d'exciter de fausses alarmes, étant tout seul, ne pouvant consulter personne, je laissai partir les voitures; mais voyant aussitôt les dragons prêts à se mettre en mouvement pour les suivre, et voyant qu'après avoir demandé des chevaux pour Verdun, ces voitures prenoient la route de Varennes, je pris un chemin de traverse pour les rejoindre. Je les devançai à Varennes; il étoit onze heures du soir, il faisoit très-noir; tout le monde étoit couché. Les voitures furent arrêtées dans une rue par une dispute qui eut lieu entre les postillons et le maître de poste du lieu. Celui-ci vouloit qu'on fit reposer et rafraîchir les chevaux, selon l'usage; le Roi au contraire vouloit accélérer son départ. Je dis alors à mon camarade—Es-tu bon patriote?—N'en doute pas.—Eh bien, lui répondis-je, le Roi est à Varennes; il faut l'arrêter.—Alors nous descendîmes, et nous fîmes réflexion que pour le succès de notre projet, il falloit barricader la rue et le pont par où le Roi devoit passer.

En conséquence, nous nous transportâmes, moi et mon camarade près du pont de Varennes; il y avoit heureusement tout près une voiture chargée de meubles, nous l'amenâmes, et la culbutâmes, de manière qu'il étoit impossible de passer. Alors, nous courûmes chercher le procureur de la Commune, le maire, le commandant de la garde nationale, et en moins d'un demi quart d'heure nous fûmes réunis au nombre de 8 hom-

mes de bonne volonté. Le commandant de la garde nationale, accompagné du procureur de la Commune s'approchèrent de la voiture et demandèrent aux voyageurs qui ils étoient, et où ils alloient. La Reine répondit, qu'ils étoient pressés. On insista pour avoir un passeport ; elle donna enfin son passeport à deux gardes d'honneur, qui descendirent et vinrent à l'auberge. Ce passeport portoit le nom de madame la baronne de Corff, &c. Quelques personnes qui entendirent la lecture de ce passeport disoient qu'il devoit suffire. Nous combattîmes cette idée, parce que le passeport n'étoit signé que du Roi, et qu'il devoit l'être aussi par le président de l'Assemblée nationale. Si vous êtes une étrangère, disions-nous à la Reine, pourquoi avez vous assez d'influence pour faire partir après vous un détachement ? Pourquoi, lorsque vous passâtes par Clermont, en avez-vous eu assez pour vous faire suivre par un premier détachement ? D'après ces réflexions et notre obstination, on délibera que les voyageurs ne partiroient que le lendemain. Ils descendirent dans la maison du procureur de la Commune.

Alors, de lui-même, le Roi nous dit. Voilà le Roi, voilà mon épouse et mes enfans ; nous vous conjurons de nous traiter avec les égards que les Français ont toujours eu pour leurs Rois. Aussitôt les gardes nationales accoururent en foule, et l'on vit en même tems arriver les hus-

sards le sabre à la main ; ils essayèrent d'approcher de la maison où étoit le Roi ; mais nous leur criâmes que si on vouloit l'arracher, on ne l'arracheroit que mort d'entre nos mains. . . . . Le commandant de la garde nationale eut l'attention en outre de faire venir deux petites pièces d'artillerie qu'il fit mettre à l'embouchure de la rue par en haut, et deux autres en bas, de manière que les hussards se trouvèrent entre deux feux. On les somma de descendre de cheval. M. Goguelas s'y refusa : il dit qu'il vouloit avec sa troupe garder le Roi : on lui répondit que la garde nationale le garderoit bien, qu'elle n'avoit pas besoin de son secours ; il insista, alors le commandant de la garde nationale ordonna aux canonniers de se mettre à leurs rangs et de faire feu, ils prirent la mèche à la main.... Mais j'ai l'honneur de vous observer qu'il n'y avoit rien dans les canons.

En un mot le commandant de la garde nationale et la garde nationale firent si bien qu'ils parvinrent à désarmer les hussards ; le Roi fut donc constitué prisonnier. Ayant ainsi rempli notre devoir, nous retournâmes chez nous au milieu des félicitations de nos concitoyens ; et nous sommes venus déposer dans le sein de l'Assemblée nationale l'hommage de nos services.

[N°. 20.]

Déclarations données par le Roi et par la Reine aux Commissaires de l'Assemblée, le Dimanche 26 Juin 1791.

DÉCLARATION DU ROI.

" Je vois, Messieurs, par l'objet de la mission qui vous est donnée, qu'il ne s'agit point ici d'un interrogatoire; mais je veux bien répondre au désir de l'Assemblée nationale, je ne craindrai jamais de rendre publics les motifs de ma conduite. "

" Les motifs de mon départ sont les outrages et les menaces qui ont été faites, le 18 Avril, à ma famille et à moi-même. Depuis ce tems, plusieurs écrits ont cherché à provoquer des violences contre ma personne et ma famille, et ces insultes sont restées jusqu'à présent impunies; j'ai cru dès-lors qu'il n'y avoit pas de sûreté, ni même de décence pour ma famille et pour moi de rester à Paris; j'ai désiré en conséquence quitter cette ville. Ne le pouvant faire publiquement, j'ai resolu de sortir de nuit et sans suite. "

" Jamais mon intention n'a été de sortir du rovaume. Je n'ai eu aucun concert sur cet ob-

jet, ni avec les puissances étrangères, ni avec mes parens, ni avec aucun autre Français sorti du royaume. Je pourrois donner pour preuve de mon intention que des logemens étoient préparés a Montmédi, pour me recevoir ainsi que ma famille. "

" J'avois choisi cette place, parce qu'étant fortifiée, ma famille y auroit été en sûreté, et qu'étant près des frontières, j'aurois été plus à portée de m'opposer à toute espèce d'invasion dans la France, si on avoit voulu en tenter quelques unes, et de me porter moi-même par-tout où j'aurois pu croire qu'il y avoit quelque danger. "

" Enfin, j'avois choisi Montmédi comme le premier point de ma retraite, jusqu'au moment où j'aurois trouvé à propos de me rendre dans telle autre partie du royaume qui m'auroit paru convenable. "

" *Un de mes principaux motifs, en quittant Paris, étoit de faire tomber l'argument qu'on tiroit de ma non liberté, qui pouvoit devenir une occasion nouvelle de troubles.* "

" Si j'avois eu l'intention de sortir du royaume, je n'aurois pas publié mon mémoire le jour de mon départ; mais j'aurois attendu d'être hors des frontières. "

" Je conservois toujours le désir de retourner à Paris. C'est dans ce sens qu'il faut entendre la dernière phrase de mon mémoire, dans laquelle je dis: *Français, et vous sur-tout Parisiens, quel plaisir*

plaisir n'aurai-je pas à me retrouver au milieu de vous !

" Je n'avois dans ma voiture que 13,000 livres en or, et 560,000 livres en assignats, contenus dans le porte-feuille qui m'a été renvoyé par le Département. "

" Je n'ai prévenu MONSIEUR de mon départ, que peu de tems auparavant : il n'a passé dans le pays étranger que parce qu'il avoit été convenu entre lui et moi que nous ne suivrions pas la même route, et il devoit venir en France auprès de moi. "

" J'avois fait donner des ordres peu de jours avant mon départ, aux trois personnes qui m'accompagnoient en courriers, de se faire faire des habits de courriers pour porter des dépêches. Ce n'est que la veille que l'un deux a reçu verbalement mes ordres. "

" Le Passe-port étoit nécessaire pour faciliter mon voyage : il n'a été indiqué pour un pays étranger, que parce qu'on n'en donnoit pas au bureau des affaires étrangères pour l'intérieur du royaume, et la route indiquée par Francfort n'a pas été suivie dans ce voyage. "

" Je n'ai jamais fait aucune protestation que celle contenue dans le mémoire que j'avois fait à mon départ. *Cette protestation ne porte pas même ainsi que le contenu du mémoire, sur le fond des principes de la Constitution, mais sur la forme des sanctions ; c'est-à-dire, sur le peu de liberté dont je*

paroissois jouir, et sur ce que les décrets n'ayant pas été présentés en masse, je ne pouvois pas juger de l'ensemble de la Constitution. "

" *Le principal reproche qui est contenu dans le mémoire, se rapporte aux difficultés dans les moyens d'administration et d'exécution. J'ai reconnu dans mon voyage que l'opinion publique étoit décidée en faveur de la Constitution. Je n'avois pas cru pouvoir connoître pleinement cette opinion publique à Paris, mais, d'après les notions que j'ai recueillies personnellement dans ma route, je me suis convaincu combien il étoit nécessaire pour le bonheur de la Nation, et même pour la Constitution, de donner de la force aux pouvoirs établis pour maintenir l'ordre public.* "

" *Aussitôt que j'ai reconnu la volonté générale, je n'ai point hésité, comme je n'ai jamais hésité, de faire le sacrifice de tout ce qui m'est personnel pour le bonheur du peuple, qui a toujours été l'objet de mes désirs. J'oublierai volontiers tous les désagrémens que je peux avoir essuié, pour assurer la paix et la tranquillité de la Nation.* "

" Le Roi, après avoir pris lecture de la déclaration, a observé qu'il avoit omis d'ajouter que la gouvernante de son fils et les femmes de suite, n'avoient été averties que peu de tems avant son départ; et le Roi a signé avec nous. "

Signés, LOUIS, TRONCHET, DUPORT et D'ANDRÉ.

Déclaration donnée par la Reine aux Commissaires de l'Assemblée, le Lundi 27 Juin 1791.

" Je déclare que le Roi désirant partir avec ses enfans, rien dans la nature n'auroit pu m'empêcher de le suivre. J'ai assez prouvé, depuis deux ans, dans plusieurs circonstances, que je voulois ne le quitter jamais. Ce qui m'a encore plus déterminée, c'est l'assurance positive que j'avois que le Roi ne vouloit pas quitter le royaume ; s'il en avoit eu le désir, toute ma force auroit été employée pour l'en empêcher. "

" La gouvernante de mon fils étoit malade depuis trois semaines, et n'a reçu les ordres que peu de tems avant le voyage ; elle en ignoroit absolument la destination. Elle n'a emporté avec elle aucune espèce de hardes ; et j'ai été obligée moi-même de lui en prêter. "

" Les trois courriers n'ont point su la destination ni le but du voyage. Sur le chemin on leur donnoit de l'argent pour payer les chevaux : ils recevoient l'ordre pour la route. Les deux femmes de chambre ont été averties dans l'instant même du départ, et l'une d'elles qui a son mari dans le château, n'a pas pu le voir avant de partir. "

" MONSIEUR et MADAME devoient venir nous joindre en France, et ils ne sont passés dans

le pays étranger que pour ne pas embarrasser et faire manquer de chevaux sur la route. Nous sommes sortis par l'appartement de M. de Villequier, en prenant la précaution de ne sortir que séparément et à diverses reprises.'"

" Après avoir fait lecture à la Reine de la présente déclaration, elle a reconnu qu'elle étoit conforme à ce qu'elle nous avoit dit, et elle a signé avec nous. "

Signés, MARIE-ANTOINETTE, TRONCHET, D'ANDRÉ et DUPORT.

[N° 21.]

Lettre de M. le Marquis DE BOUILLÉ *à l'Assemblée.*

A Luxembourg, le 26 Juin 1791.

MESSIEURS,

Le Roi vient de faire un effort pour briser les fers dans lesquels vous le retenez depuis longtems, ainsi que sa famille infortunée. Une destinée aveugle à laquelle les empires sont soumis, et contre laquelle la prudence des hommes ne

peut rien, en a décidé autrement : il est encore votre captif, et ses jours ainsi que ceux de la Reine, sont (et j'en frémis) à la disposition d'un peuple que vous avez rendu féroce et sanguinaire, et qui est devenu l'objet du mépris de l'univers. Il est intéressant pour vous, Messieurs, pour ce que vous appellez la Nation, pour moi enfin, pour le Roi lui-même, que les causes qui ont produit cet évènement, que les circonstances qui l'ont accompagné, que le grand objet qui devoit en être le résultat et qui avoit inspiré au Roi ce dessein noble et courageux, soient connus des Français ; qu'ils le soient de l'Europe entière et que l'on sache qu'en désertant de sa prison, en voulant chercher sur la frontière un asile près de moi et parmi ses troupes, il a eu moins en vue son salut que celui d'un peuple ingrat et cruel. Les dangers qu'il pouvoit courir, ceux auxquels il exposoit sa famille, rien n'a pu l'arrêter ; il n'a écouté que la générosité et la bonté de son cœur.

" Dégagé dans ce moment de tous les liens qui m'attachoient à vous, n'étant plus retenu par aucune considération, libre enfin, je vais vous parler le langage de la vérité que vous n'êtes peut-être plus en état d'entendre, et que vous n'écouterez sans doute pas ; mais j'aurai rempli tout ce que je dois à ma patrie, tout ce que je dois à mon Roi, tout ce que je me dois à moi-même. "

" Je ne vous rappellerai pas, Messieurs, ce

que vous avez fait depuis deux ans ; je ne retracerai pas le tableau du désordre affreux dans lequel vous avez plongé le royaume ; mais le Roi étoit devenu le prisonnier de son peuple ; lui et son auguste famille étoient en butte aux plus sanglans outrages. Attaché à mon Souverain, attaché à la Monarchie, en détestant les abus qui étoient résultés d'une autorité trop étendue, et qu'il vouloit lui-même circonscrire, je gémissois de la frénésie du peuple que vous aviez égaré ; je gémissois des malheurs du Roi ; je blâmois vos opérations ridicules et insensées ; mais j'espérois qu'enfin la raison reprendroit ses droits ; que le délire du peuple cesseroit ; que les méchans seroient confondus ; que l'anarchie que vous avez établie par principes, finiroit ; que l'ordre renaîtroit, et nous ramèneroit un gouvernement sinon excellent, du moins supportable, et que le tems pourroit le rendre meilleur ; c'est ce qui m'a fait souffrir toutes les épreuves auxquelles vous m'avez mis, depuis le commencement de la révolution ; mon attachement pour le Roi, mon amour pour ma patrie, m'ont donné le courage et la patience nécessaires pour braver les insultes et les affronts, et pour supporter la honte et l'humiliation de communiquer avec vous. Le tems a détruit mes espérances : j'ai vu que dans votre Assemblée il ne régnoit aucun esprit public ; que celui de faction seul y dominoit, et la divisoit en plusieurs partis, dont les uns vouloient le désor-

dre, l'entretenoient, le provoquoient même pour faire naître la guerre civile, comme étant pour eux la seule voie de salut ; les autres vouloient une République. M. *de la Fayette* étoit à la tête de ce parti ; son ambition sourde et cachée le conduisoit au seul but qu'il avoit d'être le chef d'un gouvernement aussi monstrueux pour nous. C'est dans ces circonstances que les clubs s'établirent, qu'ils achevèrent de corrompre le peuple dans toutes les parties de l'Empire, et de détruire l'armée. Je vis donc que l'anarchie étoit parvenue au dernier période : la populace, dirigée par les intrigans de tous les coins de la France, étant devenue maîtresse absolue ; qu'il n'existoit plus de force publique ; le Roi avoit perdu non seulement sa considération, mais encore sa liberté ; que les loix étoient sans force et sans vigueur, que l'armée ne présentoit plus qu'une soldatesque effrénée, ne connoissant ni autorité, ni chefs, qu'il ne restoit plus de moyen de rétablir l'ordre, et que toute ressource étoit ôtée, tout espoir détruit. "

" Ce fut alors que je proposai au Roi de sortir de Paris, de venir se réfugier avec sa famille dans quelque place frontière, où je l'environnerois de troupes fidèles ; persuadé que cette démarche pourroit opérer quelque changement avantageux dans l'esprit du peuple, déchirer le bandeau qui couvroit ses yeux, et déjouer tous les factieux. Le Roi et la Reine s'y refusèrent constamment,

alléguant la promesse qu'ils avoient faite de rester dans Paris, auprès de l'Assemblée. Je leur représentai qu'une promesse arrachée par la force ne pouvoit les lier; mais ce fut en vain. Je ne pus ébranler leur résolution. "

" La journée du 28 Février me donna lieu de renouveller au Roi mes instances. J'éprouvai les mêmes refus et la même constance dans ses principes. Il craignoit les évènemens qui pouvoient résulter de sa fuite, les effets de la fureur du peuple et l'accroissement, s'il étoit possible, de l'anarchie et du désordre. Je le dis avec vérité, la Reine pensoit de même, et se refusa à toutes mes propositions. Je ne perdis pas courage; j'étois convaincu que le départ du Roi étoit le seul moyen de sauver l'État; je savois que toutes les puissances de l'Europe armoient contre la France; qu'elles se préparoient à lui faire la guerre, à envahir son territoire. Libre au milieu de ses troupes, le Roi seul pouvoit arrêter la marche des armées ennemies. Sans doute alors, frappé de terreur, le peuple se voyant sans moyens de défense, instruit que l'armée n'existoit plus, que les places étoient presque démantelées, que les finances étoient épuisées, que le papier ne pouvoit suppléer au numéraire qui avoit fui de cette terre appauvrie, il auroit de lui-même prévenu les vues bienfaisantes du Monarque, et se seroit jeté dans ses bras. "

" Après l'arrestation du Roi, le 18 Avril, lors-

quil voulut aller à St. Cloud, je lui renouvellai mes instances avec plus de force, en lui faisant envisager qu'il n'y avoit que ce parti à prendre pour sauver la France, qui alloit bientôt être déchirée par une guerre civile, et mise en lambeaux par une guerre étrangère. Le bonheur, ou plutôt le salut du peuple fit sur son cœur généreux, l'impression que j'en attendois, et il se décida enfin, il fut résolu qu'il iroit à Montmédi et que dès qu'il y seroit en sûreté, il annonceroit aux Princes étrangers la démarche qu'il venoit de faire et les motifs qui l'y avoient engagé; qu'il feroit en sorte de suspendre leur vengeance, (*ici de longs éclats de rire et des murmures.*) jusqu'à ce qu'une nouvelle Assemblée, qu'il auroit convoquée, leur eût donné la satisfaction qu'ils devoient attendre, et qu'elle eût réglé les droits du Monarque, ainsi que ceux du peuple français. Une proclamation devoit annoncer un nouveau Corps législatif librement choisi. L'exécution des cahiers qui exprimoient seuls le vœu de la Nation, auroit servi de base au travail des représentans des Français."

"Le Roi devenu médiateur entre les puissances étrangères et son peuple, (*on rit.*) celui-ci placé entre la crainte de voir la France devenir la proie des armes étrangères qui environnent les frontières, et l'espoir du rétablissement de l'ordre par un gouvernement circonscrit dans les bornes de la raison, auroit confié ses droits et ses

intérêts à des hommes sages et éclairés qui auroient rempli le vœu du prince et celui du peuple; les injustices, les usurpations, le règne du crime enfin, source inévitable du despotisme populaire, eussent sans doute cessé, et peut-être du cahos ou nous sommes, aurions-nous vu renaître les beaux jours de l'Empire français, éclairé par le flambeau de la liberté. Voilà ce que vouloit votre malheureux Monarque, — Malgré vous-même, malgré l'ingratitude et l'atrocité de ce peuple féroce, il vouloit encore son bonheur! C'est cette seule idée, c'est ce beau désir qui ont déterminé la démarche hardie qu'il a faite en trompant la vigilance de M. de la Fayette, en s'exposant à la fureur de ses satellites et en guidant ses pas vers moi. "

" Nul autre motif ne l'a conduit; mais votre aveuglement vous a fait repousser la main protectrice qu'il vous tendoit: il va bientôt produire la destruction de l'Empire français. (*Nouveaux éclats de rire.*)

" Croyez-moi, Messieurs, les Princes de l'Europe reconnoissent qu'ils sont, ainsi que leurs peuples, menacés par le monstre que vous avez enfanté. Ils sont armés pour le combattre et bientôt notre malheureuse patrie, (car je lui donne encore ce nom) n'offrira plus qu'une scène de dévastation et d'horreurs. Je connois mieux que personne les moyens de défense que vous avez à opposer. Ils sont nuls. (*Ris.*) Tout espoir seroit chimérique,

Il n'est plus tems de vous abuser. Il ne l'est peut-être plus de dessiller les yeux du peuple que vous avez criminellement trompé et dont vous serez justement et sévérement punis. Votre châtiment servira d'exemple mémorable à la postérité, qui vous reprochera éternellement d'avoir assassiné votre patrie, dont vous pouviez prolonger la durée pendant des siècles, dont vous pouviez assurer et embellir la destinée.

" C'est ainsi que doit vous parler un homme qui n'a rien à attendre de vous, auquel vous avez inspiré d'abord la pitié, et qui n'a plus pour vous et pour le peuple anthropophage que vous avez enivré de crimes, que du mépris, de l'indignation et de l'horreur. "

" Au surplus n'accusez personne du complot et de la conspiration prétendue contre ce que vous appellez la Nation et votre infernale Constitution. J'ai tout arrangé, tout réglé, tout ordonné.

Le Roi lui-même n'a pas fait les ordres; c'est moi seul. Ceux qui ont dû les exécuter n'ont été instruits qu'au moment, et ils ne pouvoient y désobéir. C'est contre moi seul que doit être dirigée votre fureur sanguinaire, que vous devez aiguiser vos poignards et préparer vos poisons. J'ai voulu sauver ma patrie. J'ai voulu sauver le Roi, sa famille. Voilà mon crime. Vous répondrez de leurs jours, je ne dis pas à moi, mais à tous les Rois, et je vous annonce que si on

leur ôte un cheveu de la tête, avant peu il ne restera pas pierre sur pierre à Paris. (*Eclats de rire.*) Je connois les chemins: j'y guiderai les armées étrangères, et vous-mêmes en serez responsables sur vos têtes. Cette lettre n'est que l'avant-coureur du manifeste des Souverains de l'Europe, qui vous instruiront, avec des caractères plus prononcés, de ce que vous avez à faire et de ce que vous avez à craindre."

" Adieu, Messieurs, je finis sans complimens, mes sentimens vous sont connus. „

Signé, Le marquis DE BOUILLÉ.

[N°. 22.]

Extrait du rapport fait à l'Assemblée, le 13 Juillet 1791, au nom des sept comités, chargés de rendre compte des évènemens du 21 Juin.

Mr. Muguet organe des sept comités réunis pour préparer les décrets à porter au sujet de l'évènement du 21 Juin, a retracé les détails connus de la sortie nocturne des Tuileries, une voiture sur le quai des Théatins, une autre dans la cour des Princes, Les 3 gardes du corps en veste jaune, réunion de la famille Royale dans

une voiture plus commode à la porte S. Martin. A Sainte-Menehould le Sieur Drouet, maitre de poste, crut avoir reconnu la Reine, dit le rapporteur, et dans le récit du Sieur Drouet, ce fut le Roi qu'il reconnut d'après l'effigie empreinte sur un assignat de 50 liv. N'importe MM. Drouet et Guillaume dévancent les voyageurs et vont annoncer au Sieur le Blanc, aubergiste à Varennes, qu'ils soupçonnent que ces deux voitures qui vont arriver, renferment le Roi et sa famille. Les deux frères le Blanc et d'autres arrêtèrent la voiture du Roi, le Sieur Sausse, procureur-Syndic de la Commune et l'Officier municipal faisant les fonctions de Maire, prétextent qu'il est trop tard, pour viser les passe-ports, que les chemins sont défaits, que ses raisons et l'alarme qui se répand doivent engager les voyageurs à descendre chez le Sieur Sausse; Ils y descendent, on barricade la ville et des canons sont posés près de la maison.

Un détachement de hussards commandé par un aide de camp de Mr. De Bouillé arrive et se range en bataille devant cette maison et l'aide-de-camp est introduit auprès du Roi, qui lui demande: quand part-on? L'officier répond qu'il n'attend que ses ordres. Le Roi lui déclare, et au major de la garde nationale survenu, qu'il ne veut que 50 à 100 gardes nationaux pour l'accompagner, et se jettant dans les bras de Mr. Sausse, il lui dit: " Je suis votre Roi.

« Placé dans la capitale au milieu des poignards « et des bayonnettes, je viens chercher en pro- « vince, au sein de mes fidèles sujets, la liberté « et la paix dont vous jouissez. Je ne puis plus « rester à Paris sans y mourir et ma famille en « même-tems. » L'infortuné Monarque embrasse ceux qui l'entourent ; la Reine partage ses craintes, se joint à ses instances, il persite à vouloir se rendre à Montmédi, en protestant qu'il ne veut pas sortir du Royaume, et que la garde nationale peut l'accompagner ; 20 Dragons traversèrent la ville ; on met les hussards entre deux batteries ; leur commandant va charger la garde nationale dont l'aide major pare un coup de sabre et lâche un coup de pistolet qui casse l'épaule au commandant des hussards. Ceux-ci demandent à être commandés par un officier de la garde nationale, et l'air retentit des cris : Vive le Roi ! Vive la Nation ! Vive l'Assemblée nationale ! Vive Lauzun !

Arrive un aide de camp de M. de la Fayette porteur du décret. Le Roi persévère à vouloir partir pour Montmédi. Le retour est décidé. Les citoyens accourus forment un nombreux cortège. On se met en marche vers Châlons. Ici le rapporteur affirme que le Roi ne reçut sur la route que des témoignages de respect ; il cite bien l'ordre digne de l'excellent cœur de Henri IV, l'ordre que le meilleur des Rois fit donner au fils de Mr. de Bouillé de ne rien entreprendre ;

mais il ne dit pas un seul mot de Mr. de Dampierre, égorgé sous les yeux du Monarque, des horribles imprécations qui frappoient l'air autour de la voiture, où se résignoient si magnanimement le vertueux Prince et sa malheureuse famille. Il n'oublie cependant pas d'ajouter que par tout on crioit : Vive la Nation ! Vive l'Assemblée nationale ! et s'en remet pour les détails à ce qu'en ont raconté les commissaires.

Après un long extrait des différens procès-verbaux, il a posé cette grande question qui n'en fut jamais une : *Le Roi peut-il être mis en cause ?* Et il en a trouvé la solution dans les décrets constitutionnels. Vous avez décrété, juré une Constitution monarchique et l'inviolabilité du Roi qui n'est pas un citoyen, mais un pouvoir. Si le Roi n'avoit pas été indépendant, s'il pouvoit être jugé par l'Assemblée, il lui seroit soumis, il ne seroit pas libre ; on ne peut séparer le Roi de la royauté. S'il commettoit un crime, on le supposeroit en état de démence. Son évasion n'est pas même un délit. Vous ne pouvez prononcer sur des loix qui ne sont pas faites. Fût-il sorti du royaume, il n'auroit pas forfait à la Constitution, avant de se refuser à une proclamation. La déclaration qu'il a laissée n'a aucun caractère légal et ne contient aucune renonciation directe ni indirecte à la Royauté. Son acceptation étoit une formalité inutile à vos dé-

crets . . . . : Le Roi n'est donc pas coupable aux yeux de la Loi.

Soulevant le voile qui peut-être auroit dû couvrir toujours les suites possibles d'une opinion contraire, M. Muguet à laissé entrevoir les malheurs qui désolèrent l'Angleterre lors du meurtre de Charles I, on a rapproché les troubles de la minorité de Louis XIV, idées qui ne naissent ici que de l'hypothèse la plus déchirante et la plus affreuse à méditer; et il a fini par ces mots: " Vous verriez des régens que la loi désigne et " que la confiance éloigne. " Tous les motifs des comités, se combinant dans ses conclusions, le rapporteur a pensé que le Roi ne pourroit, sous aucun rapport, être mis en jugement; et il a proposé de décréter,

1°. Que le procès sera fait et parfait à Louis-François-Amour Bouillé et à ses fauteurs, complices et adhérans. 2°. Que MM. Heyman, Klinglin, Doffelize, Désoteux, Goguelas, Damas, Choiseuil, Stainville, Dandrouin, Velcour, Mandel, Manassin, Talon, Bouillé fils, Fersen, Maldent, Velory et Dumoutier sont soupçonnés d'avoir eu connoissance du complot, et d'avoir eu en vue de le favoriser; que leur procès leur sera fait et parfait. 3°. Que les personnes ci-dessus dénommées, qui sont ou seront arrêtées, seront conduites dans les prisons de la ville d'Orléans. 4°. Que M. Floriac, Remy, Lacour, Gouville, de Bridge et Mde de Tourzel resteront

en arrestation, pour être, après les informations, statué ce qu'il appartiendra. 5°. Que les Dames Brunier et Neuville, femmes de chambre de Mgr. le Dauphin et de la fille du Roi, seront mises en liberté.

[N°. 23.]

LETTRE DES PRINCES AU ROI.

SIRE, NOTRE FRERE ET SEIGNEUR,

" Lorsque l'Assemblée, qui vous doit l'existence, et qui ne l'a fait servir qu'à la destruction de votre pouvoir, se croit au moment de consommer sa coupable entreprise ; lorsqu'à l'indignité de vous tenir captif au milieu de votre Capitale, elle ajoute la perfidie de vouloir que vous dégradiez votre trône de votre propre main ; lorsqu'elle ose enfin vous présenter l'option, ou de souscrire des décrets qui feroient le malheur de vos peuples, ou de cesser d'être Roi. Nous nous empressons d'apprendre à Votre Majesté que les Puissances dont nous avons reclamé pour elle le secours, sont déterminées à y employer leurs forces, et que l'Empereur et le Roi de Prusse viennent d'en contracter l'engagement mutuel. Le sage *Léopold*, aussitôt après avoir assuré la tranquillité de ses états et amené celle de l'Europe, a signé

cet engagement à Pilnitz, le 27 du mois dernier, conjointement avec le digne successeur du grand Frédéric; ils en ont remis l'original entre nos mains; et pour le faire parvenir à votre connoissance, nous le ferons imprimer à la suite de cette lettre, la publicité étant aujourd'hui la seule voie de communication dont vos cruels oppresseurs n'ayent pû nous priver."

"Les autres cours sont dans les mêmes dispositions que celle de Vienne et Berlin. Les Princes et Etats de l'Empire ont déjà protesté dans des actes authentiques, contre les lésions faites à des droits qu'ils ont résolu de soutenir avec vigueur. Vous ne sauriez douter, Sire, du vif intérêt que les Rois Bourbons prennent à votre situation; Leurs Majestés Catholique et Sicilienne en ont donné des témoignages non équivoques. Les généreux sentimens du Roi de Sardaigne notre beau-père, ne peuvent pas être incertains. Vous avez droit de compter sur ceux des Suisses, les bons et anciens amis de la France. Jusques dans le fond du Nord, un Roi magnanime veut aussi contribuer à rétablir votre autorité; et l'immortelle Catherine, à qui aucun genre de gloire n'est étranger, ne laissera pas échapper celle de défendre la cause de tous les Souverains."

"Il n'est point à craindre que la Nation Britannique, trop généreuse pour contrarier ce qu'elle trouve juste, trop éclairée pour ne pas désirer ce qui intéresse sa propre tranquillité, veuille s'op-

poser aux vues de cette noble et irrésistible Confédération. "

" Ainsi dans vos malheurs, Sire, vous avez la consolation de voir les Puissances conspirées à les faire cesser, et votre fermeté dans le moment critique où vous êtes, aura pour appui l'Europe entière. ".

" Ceux qui savent qu'on n'ébranle vos résolutions qu'en attaquant votre sensibilité, voudront sans doute vous faire envisager l'aide des Puissances étrangères comme pouvant devenir funeste à vos sujets ; ce qui n'est que vue auxiliaire, ils le travestiront en vue hostile et vous peindront le Royaume inondé de sang, déchiré dans toutes ses parties, menacé de démembremens. C'est ainsi qu'après avoir toujours employé les plus fausses alarmes pour causer les maux les plus réels, ils veulent se servir encore du même moyen pour les perpétuer. C'est ainsi qu'ils espèrent faire supporter les fléaux de leur odieuse tyrannie, en faisant croire que tout ce qui la combat, conduit au plus dur esclavage. "

" Mais, Sire, les intentions des Souverains qui vous donneront des secours, sont aussi droites, aussi pures que le zèle qui nous les a fait solliciter: elles n'ont rien d'effrayant ni pour l'état, ni pour vos peuples. Ce n'est point les attaquer, c'est leur rendre le plus signalé de tous les services, que de les arracher au despotisme des démagogues et aux calamités de l'anarchie. Vous

vouliez assurer plus que jamais la liberté de vos sujets, quand des séditieux vous ont ravi la vôtre : ce que nous faisons pour parvenir à vous la rendre, avec la mesure d'autorité qui vous appartient légitimement, ne peut être suspect de volonté oppressive. C'est au contraire venger la liberté, que de réprimer la licence ; c'est affranchir la Nation que de rétablir la force publique sans laquelle elle ne peut être libre. Ces principes, Sire, sont les vôtres ; le même esprit de modération et de bienfaisance qui caractérise toutes vos actions, sera la règle de notre conduite ; il est l'ame de toutes nos démarches auprès des Cours étrangères ; et dépositaires de témoignages positifs des vues aussi généreuses qu'équitables qui les animent, nous pouvons garantir qu'elles n'ont d'autre désir, que de vous remettre en possession du gouvernement de vos états, pour que vos Peuples puissent jouir en paix des bienfaits que vous leur avez destinés. "

" Si les rebelles opposent à ce désir une résistance opiniâtre et aveugle, qui force les armées étrangères de pénétrer dans le Royaume, eux seuls les y auront attirées ; sur eux seuls réjailliroit le sang coupable qu'il seroit nécessaire de répandre ; la guerre seroit leur ouvrage ; le but des Puissances confédérées n'est que de soutenir la partie saine de la Nation, contre la partie délirante, et d'éteindre au sein du Royaume le volcan de fanatisme dont les éruptions propagées menacent tous les Empires. "

« D'ailleurs, Sire, il n'y a pas lieu de croire que les Français, quelque soin qu'on prenne d'enflammer leur bravoure naturelle en exaltant, en électrisant toutes les têtes par des prestiges de patriotisme et de liberté, veuillent long-tems sacrifier leur repos, leurs biens et leur sang pour soutenir une innovation extravagante qui n'a fait que des malheureux. L'ivresse n'a qu'un tems; les succès du crime ont des bornes; et on se lasse bientôt des excès, quand on en est soi-même victime. Bientôt on se demandera pourquoi l'on se bat; et l'on verra que c'est pour servir l'ambition d'une troupe de factieux qu'on méprise, contre un Roi qui s'est toujours montré juste et humain: pourquoi l'on se ruine: et l'on verra que c'est pour assouvir la cupidité de ceux qui se sont emparés de toutes les richesses de l'Etat, qui en font le plus détestable usage, et qui, chargés de restaurer les finances publiques, les ont précipitées dans un abîme épouvantable; pourquoi l'on viole les devoirs les plus sacrés: et l'on verra que c'est pour devenir plus pauvres, plus souffrans, plus vexés, plus imposés qu'on ne l'avoit jamais été; pourquoi on bouleverse l'ancien gouvernement: et l'on verra que c'est dans le vain espoir d'en introduire un, qui, s'il étoit praticable, seroit mille fois plus abusif, mais dont l'exécution est absolument impossible; pourquoi l'on persécute les Ministres de Dieu: et l'on verra que c'est pour favoriser les desseins d'une secte

orgueilleuse qui a résolu de détruire toute Religion, et par conséquent de déchaîner tous les crimes. "

" Déjà même toutes ces vérités sont devenues sensibles; déjà le voile de l'imposture se déchire de toutes parts, et les murmures contre l'Assemblée qui a usurpé tous les pouvoirs et anéanti tous les droits, s'étendent d'une extrémité du Royaume à l'autre. "

" Ne jugez pas, Sire, de la disposition du plus grand nombre, par les mouvemens les plus turbulens; ne jugez pas le sentiment national d'après l'inaction de la fidélité et son apparente indifférence lorsque vous fûtes arrêté à Varennes, et lorsqu'une troupe de satellites vous reconduisit à Paris. L'effroi glaçoit alors tous les esprits, et faisoit régner un morne silence. Ce qu'on vous cache, ce qui dénote bien mieux le changement qui s'est fait et se fait de jour en jour, dans l'opinion, ce sont les marques de mécontentemens qui percent dans toutes les provinces, et qui n'attendent qu'un appui pour éclater davantage; c'est la demande que plusieurs départemens viennent de former pour que l'Assemblée ait à rendre compte des sommes immenses qu'elle a dilapidées depuis sa gestion; c'est la frayeur que ses chefs laissent appercevoir, et leur tentatives réitérées pour entrer en accommodement; ce sont les plaintes du commerce et l'explosion récente du désespoir de nos Colonies; c'est enfin la pénurie

absolue du numéraire, le refus des contribuables de payer les impôts, l'attente d'une banqueroute prochaine, la défection des troupes qui, victimes de tous les genres de séduction, commencent à s'en indigner; et le progrès toujous croissant des émigrations. Il est impossible de se méprendre à de pareils signes, et leur notoriété est telle, que l'audace même des séducteurs du Peuple ne sauroit en contester la vérité. "

" Ne croyez donc pas, Sire, aux exagérations des dangers par lesquels on s'efforce de vous effrayer. On sait que, peu sensible à ceux qui ne menaceroient que votre Personne, vous l'êtes infiniment à ceux qui tomberoient sur vos Peuples, ou qui pourroient frapper des objets chers à votre cœur; et c'est sur eux qu'on a la barbarie de vous faire frémir continuellement, en même tems qu'on a l'impudence de vanter votre liberté. Mais depuis trop long-tems on abuse de cet artifice, et le moment est venu de rejetter sur les factieux qui vous outragent, l'arme de la terreur qui jusqu'ici a fait toute leur force. "

" Les grands forfaits ne sont point à craindre, lorsqu'il n'y a aucun intérêt à les commettre, ni aucun moyen d'éviter, en les commettant, une punition terrible. Tout Paris sait, tout Paris doit savoir, que si une scélératesse fanatique ou soudoyée, osoit attenter à vos jours ou à ceux de la Reine, des armées puissantes, chassant devant elles une milice foible par indiscipline, dé-

couragée par les remords, viendroient aussi-tôt fondre sur la ville impie qui auroit attiré sur elle la vengeance du Ciel et l'indignation de l'Univers. Aucun des coupables ne pourroit alors échapper aux plus rigoureux supplices: donc, aucun d'eux ne voudra s'y exposer. "

" Mais si la plus aveugle fureur armoit un bras parricide, vous verriez, Sire, n'en doutez pas, des milliers de Citoyens fidèles, se précipiter autour de la Famille Royale, vous couvrir, s'il le falloit, de leurs corps, et verser tout leur sang pour défendre le vôtre.... Eh ! pourquoi cesseriez-vous de compter sur l'affection d'un peuple dont vous n'avez pas cessé un seul moment de vouloir le bonheur? "

" Le Français se laisse facilement égarer: mais facilement aussi il rentre dans la route du devoir; ses mœurs sont naturellement trop douces pour que ses actions soient long-tems féroces, et son amour pour ses Rois est trop enraciné dans son cœur, pour qu'une illusion funeste ait pu l'en arracher entièrement. "

" Qui pourroit être plus porté que nous à concevoir des alarmes sur la situation d'un Frère tendrement chéri ? Mais au dire même de vos plus téméraires, oppresseurs, ce refus du résumé constitutionnel que nous apprenons vous avoir été présenté par l'Assemblée le trois de ce mois, ne vous exposeroit qu'au danger d'être destitué par elle, de la Royauté. "

" Or ce danger n'en est pas un. Qu'importe que vous cessiez d'être Roi aux yeux des factieux, lorsque vous le seriez plus solidement et plus glorieusement que jamais, aux yeux de toute l'Europe et dans le cœur de tous vos sujets fidèles ? Qu'importe que par une entreprise insensée, on osât vous déclarer déchu du trône de vos ancêtres, lorsque les forces combinées de toutes les Puissances sont préparées pour vous y maintenir et punir les vils usurpateurs qui en auroient souillé l'éclat ? "

" Le danger seroit bien plus grand, si en paroissant consentir à la dissolution de la Monarchie, vous paroissiez affoiblir vos droits personnels aux secours de tous les Monarques, et si vous sembliez vous séparer de la cause des Souverains en consacrant une doctrine qu'ils sont obligés de proscrire. Le péril augmenteroit en proportion de ce que vous montreriez moins de confiance dans les moyens préservateurs ; il augmenteroit à mesure que l'impression du caractère auguste qui fait trembler le crime aux pieds de la Majesté Royale dignement soutenue, perdroit de sa force ; il augmenteroit lorsque l'apparence de l'abandon des intérêts de la Religion pourroit exciter la fermentation la plus redoutable. Il augmenteroit enfin, si vous résignant à n'avoir plus que le vain titre d'un Roi sans pouvoir, vous paroissiez, au jugement de l'Univers, abdiquer la couronne dont chacun sait

que la conservation exige celle des droits inaliénables qui y sont essentiellement inhérens. "

" Le plus sacré des devoirs, Sire, ainsi que le plus vif attachement, nous portent à mettre sous vos yeux toutes ces conséquences dangereuses de la moindre apparence de foiblesse, en même tems que nous vous présentons la masse des forces imposantes qui doit être la sauve-garde de votre fermeté. "

" Nous devons encore vous annoncer, et même nous jurons à vos pieds, que si des motifs qu'il nous est impossible d'appercevoir, mais qui ne pourroient avoir pour principe que l'excès de la violence et une contrainte qui pour être déguisée, n'en seroit que plus cruelle, forçoient votre main de souscrire une acceptation que votre cœur rejette, que votre intérêt et celui de vos peuples repoussent, et que votre devoir de Roi vous interdit expressément, nous protesterions, à la face de toute la terre, et de la manière la plus solennelle, contre cet acte illusoire et tout ce qui pourroit en dépendre ; nous démontrerions qu'il est nul par lui-même, nul par le défaut de liberté, nul par le vice radical de toutes les opérations de l'Assemblée usurpatrice qui, n'étant pas Assemblée d'Etats-Généraux, n'est rien. Nous sommes fondés sur les droits de la Nation entière, à rejetter des décrets diamétralement contraires à son vœu exprimé par l'unanimité de ses cahiers ; et nous désavouerions pour

elle, des mandataires infidèles qui, en violant ses ordres et transgressant la mission qu'elle leur avoit donnée, ont cessé d'être ses représentans. Nous soutiendrions, ce qui est évident, qu'ayant agi contre leur titre, ils ont agi sans pouvoir, et que ce qu'ils n'ont pu faire légalement, ne peut être accepté validement. "

" Notre protestation signée avec nous, par tous les Princes de votre Sang qui nous sont réunis, seroit commune à toute la maison de Bourbon à qui ses droits éventuels à la couronne imposent le devoir d'en défendre l'auguste dépôt. Nous protesterions pour vous-même, Sire, en protestant pour vos peuples, pour la Religion, pour les maximes fondamentales de la Monarchie, et pour tous les ordres de l'État.

" Nous protesterions pour vous et en votre nom, contre ce qui n'en auroit qu'une fausse empreinte. Votre voix étant étouffée par l'oppression, nous en serions les organes nécessaires, et nous exprimerions nos vrais sentimens, tels qu'ils sont consignés au serment de votre avènement au Trône, tels qu'ils sont constatés par les actions de votre vie entière, tels qu'ils se sont montrés dans la déclaration que vous avez faite au premier moment que vous vous êtes cru libre. Vous ne pouvez pas, vous ne devez pas en avoir d'autres, et votre volonté n'existe que dans les actes où elle respire librement. "

" Nous protesterions pour vos peuples, qui

dans leur délire ne peuvent appercevoir combien ce fantôme de constitution nouvelle qu'on fait briller à leurs yeux, et aux pieds duquel on les a fait jurer vainement, leur deviendroit funeste. Lorsque ces peuples, ne connoissant plus ni chef légitime, ni leurs intérêts les plus chers, se laissent entraîner à leur perte; lorqu'aveuglés par de trompeuses promesses, ils ne voient pas qu'on les anime à détruire eux-mêmes *les gages de leur* sûreté, les soutiens de leur repos, les principes de leur subsistance et tous les liens de leur association civile, il faut en réclamer pour eux le rétablissement, il faut les sauver de leur propre frénésie. "

" Nous protesterions pour la Religion de nos pères, qui est attaquée dans ses dogmes et dans son culte comme dans ses Ministres; et suppléant à l'impuissance où vous seriez de remplir vous-même en ce moment vos devoirs de Fils aîné de l'Eglise, nous prendrions, en votre nom, la défense de ses droits, nous nous opposerions à des spoliations qui tendent à l'avilir; nous nous élèverions avec force contre des actes qui menacent le Royaume des horreurs du schisme, et nous professerions hautement notre attachement inaltérable aux règles ecclésiastiques admises dans l'Etat, desquelles vous avez juré de maintenir l'observation. "

" Nous protesterions pour les maximes fondamentales de la Monarchie dont il ne vous est

pas permis, Sire, de vous départir ; que la Nation elle-même a déclarées inviolables ; et qui seroient totalement renversées par les décrets qu'on vous présente ; spécialement par ceux qui en excluant le Roi de tout exercice du pouvoir législatif, abolissent la royauté même ; par ceux qui en détruisent tous les soutiens en supprimant tous les rangs intermédiaires ; par ceux qui en nivelant tous les états, anéantissent jusqu'au principe de l'obéissance ; par ceux qui enlèvent au Monarque les fonctions les plus essentielles du gouvernement monarchique, ou qui le rendent subordonné dans celles qu'ils lui laissent ; par ceux enfin, qui ont armé le peuple, qui ont annullé la force publique, et qui, en confondant tous les pouvoirs, ont introduit en France la tyrannie populaire. "

" Nous protesterions pour tous les ordres de l'Etat, parce qu'indépendamment de la suppression intolérable et impossible, prononcée contre les deux premiers ordres, tous ont été lézés, vexés, dépouillés ; et nous aurions à réclamer tout à la fois les droits du Clergé qui n'a voulu montrer une ferme et généreuse résistance que pour les intérêts du Ciel et les fonctions du saint ministère ; les droits de la Noblesse, qui, plus sensible aux outrages faits au Trône dont elle est l'appui, qu'à la persécution qu'elle éprouve, sacrifie tout pour manifester par un zèle éclatant, qu'aucun obstacle ne peut empêcher

un Chevalier français de demeurer fidèle à son Roi, à sa patrie, à son honneur ; les droits de la Magistrature, qui regrette, beaucoup plus que la privation de son état, de se voir réduite à gémir en silence de l'abandon de la justice, de l'impunité des crimes, et de la violation des Loix dont elle est essentiellement dépositaire, enfin les droits des possesseurs quelconques, puisqu'il n'est point en France de propriété qui ait été respectée, point de citoyens honnêtes qui n'aient souffert. "

" Comment pourriez-vous, Sire, donner une approbation sincère et valide à la prétendue constitution qui a produit tant de maux ? "

" Dépositaire usufruitier du Trône que vous avez hérité de vos ayeux, vous ne pouvez ni en aliéner les droits primordiaux, ni détruire la base constitutive sur laquelle il est assis. "

" Défenseur né de la Religion de vos Etats, vous ne pouvez pas consentir à ce qui tend à sa ruine, et abandonner ses ministres à l'opprobre. "

" Débiteur de la justice à vos sujets, vous ne pouvez pas renoncer à la fonction essentiellement royale de la leur faire rendre par des tribunaux légalement constitués, et d'en surveiller vous-même l'administration. "

" Protecteur des droits de tous les Ordres, et des possessions de tous les particuliers, vous ne pouvez pas les laisser violer, et anéantir par la plus arbitraire des oppressions. "

" Enfin père de vos peuples, vous ne pouvez pas les livrer au désordre et à l'anarchie. "

" Si le crime qui vous obsède, et la violence qui vous lie les mains, ne vous permettent pas de remplir ces devoirs sacrés, ils n'en sont pas moins gravés dans votre cœur en traits ineffaçables, et nous accomplirions votre volonté réelle, en suppléant autant qu'il est en nous, à l'impossibilité où vous seriez de l'exercer. "

" Dussiez-vous même nous le défendre, et fussiez-vous force de vous dire libre en nous le défendant ; ces défenses, évidemment contraires à vos sentimens, puisqu'elles le seroient au premier de vos devoirs ; ces défenses, sorties du sein de votre captivité, qui ne cessera réellement que quand vos peuples seront rentrés dans le devoir, et vos troupes sous votre obéissance, ces défenses, qui ne pourroient avoir plus de valeur que tout ce que vous aviez fait avant votre sortie, et que vous avez désavoué ensuite ; ces défenses enfin, qui seroient imprégnées de la même nullité que l'acte approbatif contre lequel nous serions obligés de protester, ne pourroient certainement pas nous faire trahir notre devoir, sacrifier vos intérêts, et manquer à ce que la France auroit droit d'exiger de nous en pareille circonstance. Nous obéirions, Sire, à vos véritables commandemens, en résistant à des défenses extorquées, et nous serions sûrs de votre approbation, en suivant les loix de l'honneur

Notre parfaite soumission vous est trop connue pour que jamais elle vous paroisse douteuse. Puissions-nous être bientôt au moment heureux où, rétabli en pleine liberté, vous nous verrez voler dans vos bras, y renouveller l'hommage de notre obéissance, et en donner l'exemple à tous vos sujets! "

" Nous sommes, Sire, notre Frère et Seigneur, de votre Majesté,

Les très-humbles et très obéissans Frères, Serviteurs et Sujets,

LOUIS-STANISLAS-XAVIER,
CHARLES-PHILIPPE.

Au Château de Schœnbornlust, près Cologne, le 10 Juin 1791.

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